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Culture, tourism and sustainability an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica

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Culture, tourism and sustainability: an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica

BY

ERNEST TAYLOR

JULY 2016



Culture, tourism and sustainability: an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica



By

ERNEST TAYLOR

JULY 2016

*A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

Research Declaration

I declare that this report is entirely my own work and that any use of the work of others has been appropriately acknowledged as in-text citations and compiled in the reference list. I also confirm that the project has been conducted in compliance with the University's research ethics policy.

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Abstract

This novel ethnographic study investigates the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. It focuses on two distinctive Jamaican groups, the Charles Town Maroon and the Seaford Town German descendants. The objectives of the study are to examine the meanings culture holds for local people in relation to identity, sense of place and community development; assess the extent to which they capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism and make recommendations for local people and policymakers.

The basis for the research is the economic and social crisis facing rural communities in Jamaica due to the demise of their traditional agriculture base. This has been precipitated by international trade liberalisation rules, which removed the preferential access of Jamaican produce to European Union countries. With small-scale Jamaican sugar and banana farmers unable to compete with major producers from the United States of America and South America, rural communities have been left devastated. For many, farming is now an unreliable source of income. More than half of local farmers are in serious economic and social difficulties and 80 per cent of the 1.1 million people living below the poverty line in Jamaica, live in the countryside.

With few alternative livelihood strategies, many rural inhabitants are attempting to exploit their culture resources by way of rural community tourism. This coincides with research, which shows an increasing desire by tourists to capture diverse and ordinary social experiences in destinations such as Jamaica. They want authentic contact with host communities away from resorts. However, with tourism on the island predicated on the sand, sun and sea all-inclusive resort model and poor rural infrastructure, local people face tough challenges to exploit their culture resources.

The study is conducted in the real world setting of rural Jamaica and is underpinned by an integrated conceptual framework developed from ideas taken from different literatures and preliminary fieldwork. The framework is applied to the findings of the study to

analyse the different development paths taken by Charles Town and Seaford Town. It argues that Ray's (1998) culture economy approach helps to capture this, but the complex and contested nature of ideas relating to development, identity, sense of place, community and culture commoditisation mean it does not do so holistically. However, a more comprehensive picture of the development paths of the two communities emerges by integrating notions of the culture economy with ideas relating to cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation. The concepts reflect a sense of 'rootedness' in place (vertical linkages) and same-level locally bounded relationships (horizontal linkages). Plurality of commoditisation refers to the differentiated and diversified tactics being deployed by locals to meet tourists' demands for actual interactions and co-creative experiences with them.

The research approach consists of a constructivist paradigm, relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, ethnographic methodology and qualitative methods. The focus is, therefore, not only on who, why, what, when, and how, but also on meanings, human action, identity, sense of place, interactions, emotions and behaviour. Thick detailed descriptions are used to capture the articulations of local people and the circumstances in which they occur.

The study finds that the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica marks the transition from a primarily agriculture mode of production to one that places greater emphasis on the use of local culture resources. However, while it is clear that communities such as Charles Town and Seaford Town are rich in culture resources, the extent to which they capitalise on them are somewhat limited. The reasons are socio-economic, historical and deep-seated. Adopting the modified culture economy approach, proposed in this study, could increase understanding of the challenges faced by locals and offer a way forward. This is because the framework is holistic in that it considers the socio-economic, cultural and emotional dimensions of rural communities.

Key words: Culture economy, tourism, sustainability, Jamaica, Maroons, Germans.

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Acronyms

| | |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CBT | community based tourism |
| GDP | gross domestic product |
| IICA | Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| JAS | Jamaica Agriculture Society |
| JLP | Jamaica Labour Party |
| JSIF | Jamaica Social Investment Fund |
| JTB | Jamaica Tourist Board |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goals |
| NGO | non-governmental organisations |
| NEPA | National Environment and Planning Agency |
| NRCA | Natural Resources Conservation Authority |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| PNP | People's National Party |
| RADA | Rural Agricultural Development Authority |
| REDI | Rural Economic Development Initiative |
| SDC | Social Development Commission |
| SME | small and medium enterprises |
| TEF | Tourism Enhancement Fund |
| TPDCo | Tourism Product Development Company |
| UCLG | United Cities and Local Governments |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| UNWTO | United Nations World Tourism Organisation |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

**Establishing the context, study question,
aim and objectives of the research.**

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Figure 1.1 A speedboat, which is offered to tourist for hire, is anchored near an all-inclusive resort, Negril, Jamaica (Taylor 2011).

1.0 Introduction

Culture, tourism and sustainability are among the most salient themes in development debates of the 21st Century. They have come to be seen as tropes of globalisation and thus representative of the expansion and interrelatedness of economic, environmental, social and cultural movements around the world (Mowforth and Munt 2009). Tourism, with annual global income in excess of \$2.1 trillion, is responsible for one in every 13 jobs on the planet and is an integral feature of development strategies (United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) 2014). The industry is said to have the potential to help realise four of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) - eradicate poverty, gender equality, environmental sustainability and global partnerships for development (UNWTO 2014 and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 2006). Culture is seen as a driver and enabler of the MDGs and is responsible for making intrinsic contributions to sustainable development and accounts for 40 per cent of global tourism revenues (UNESCO 2013). Although contested, culture and tourism can have a symbiotic relationship, with tourism regarded as a way of enhancing culture and reanimating traditions, while culture contributes to the appeal and competitive advantage of tourism destinations (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2009). In developing countries such as Jamaica, which have limited industries, spectacular natural landscape and distinctive cultures, the role of culture and tourism are particularly magnified. This significance is further augmented by the collapse of the Caribbean island's traditional agricultural base. Tourism now generates 6.8 times the export income of agriculture; over half of foreign currency revenue; more than a quarter of all jobs; 29 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP) and annual earnings in excess of US\$3 billion (Oxford Economics 2012 and Jamaica Gleaner 2013).

Although tourism is the main pillar of the Jamaican economy, not everyone enjoys its benefits. Eighty per cent of Jamaica's tourism infrastructure is locally owned, but ownership is concentrated in a few hands, which mean the profits do not 'trickle down' to

local people (Beirman 2006, Meyer 2006, Jayawardena 2003, McLaren 2003, Dunn and Dunn 2002 and Tapper 1997). Furthermore, tourism in Jamaica is exclusive and elitist predicated on sand, sun and sea all-inclusive resorts tucked away in enclaves on the north coast of the island (Dunn and Dunn 2002 and Taylor 1993). For many local people, tourism often means alienation and, in some cases, ‘deliberate exclusion’ from resort areas by rigorous policing of entrances and rules of admission, particularly when tourists’ cruise liners are in port (Hines 2011, Jamaica Gleaner 2008 and Dodman 2007: 582). Moreover, in the island’s major tourism centres of Ocho Rios, Montego Bay and Negril, there is squatting, prostitution, beach erosion, restrictive access to beaches, build-up of waste and environmental degradation (Daye, Chambers and Roberts 2008 and Boxill 2004). Such is the state of tourism development in Jamaica that a 2002 government-commissioned report - Master Plan for Sustainable Tourism Development - found the activity to be unsustainable (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). The report calls for tourism to be based on local culture resources and include a greater input from ordinary people (ibid 2002). For the activity to develop sustainably, the report argues that ‘local communities must play a major role in defining, developing and managing the tourism experience so that they take ownership of the industry and are committed to providing the visitor experience on which the success of the industry depends’ (ibid 2002: vi). In other words, tourism planning in Jamaica should be bottom up, not top down.

The idea of localising the tourism experience and spreading its benefits to ordinary Jamaicans is particularly pertinent for people living in rural areas. Farming, primarily sugar cane and bananas, has been their main source of income for generations. However, international trade liberalisation rules mean Jamaican produce no longer receives preferential access to European Union countries. The small-scale nature of local agricultural production means Jamaican farmers are unable to compete with major producers from the United States of America and South America. This has been exacerbated by reductions in local tariff charges, which make it difficult for home grown Jamaican foods to match the price of cheaper imports. Moreover, local farmers are faced with perennial external shocks such as tropical storms, hurricanes and droughts. Together, these challenges have rendered agriculture an ‘unreliable and inconsistent

source of revenue' (Oxford Economics 2012: 32). Sixty seven per cent of rural farmers experience serious economic and social difficulties (Jamaica Social Investment Fund (JSIF) 2009). An estimated 80 per cent of the 1.1 million people living in poverty in Jamaica live in the countryside (Luton 2010). With rural communities in need of alternative ways to generate income, some locals are pursuing rural community tourism, which centres on the exploitation of their local culture resources. It means some communities now boast local museums and offer local food and drink, accommodation, cultural activities, exhibitions, performances, ordinary interactions and production of arts and crafts.

The development of rural community tourism is supported by research, which shows an increasing desire by tourists to capture diverse and ever-changing social experiences and authentic contact with local people away from resorts (Yeoman 2012: 53, Robinson and Smith 2006, Hawkes and Kwortnik 2006, McLaren 2003 and Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). Moreover, development of the activity is reflective of the 'post-productivist countryside', which is seen as a 'site of consumption, tourism and recreation' (Bell and Jayne 2010: 210). Characterised as a repository of 'traditional cultures' and 'authentic' lifestyles', the countryside can provide an organic setting for the expansion of tourism (Kneafsey 2001: 762-763). Initiatives such as farm diversification and refashioned food, drink and creative arts can play a key role in the rejuvenation and transformation of the countryside into a rural tourist culture market (Kneafsey et al. 2008). The approach is characterised by Ray (1998) as the culture economy mode of development, which marks the transition from a primarily agricultural method of production to one that places greater emphasis on the use of local cultural identity and sense of place. The practice can animate niche culture markets where sale of locally grown spices, beverages, food and drink aimed at tourists can complement the provision of accommodation, cultural activities, exhibitions, performances, ordinary interactions and production of arts and crafts. The culture economy mode of development thus presents a more viable option of meeting livelihood and wellbeing objectives rather than sole reliance on bulk agricultural production for export.

According to Hayle (2014), community tourism, in Jamaica's context, comprise eco-tourism, cultural tourism, farm tourism, health tourism, heritage tourism and other initiatives centred on accommodation, food and beverage, recreation and adventure. It presents an opportunity for locals to display their diverse culture, foods and spectacular natural landscapes and to improve their socio-economic conditions. Essentially, argues Hayle (2014), the emphasis is on interaction between tourists and local people in rural areas away from resorts. 'Community-based tourism can be a stand-alone venture or a partnership of the traditional and the non-traditional products blended with Jamaican charm, culture and heritage to create a community tourism spirit that culminates in a truly Jamaican experience' (Hayle 2014: 2).

However, the mobilisation of tourism in the development of rural communities in Jamaica has triggered concerns about its impacts, benefits and sustainability. Cole (2007) argues that communities are factious, highly contested, have their own identity and values. As such, rural community tourism development is susceptible to shifting power relations with only some people benefiting economically, but everyone sharing any negative by-product (Salazar 2011). Furthermore, decisions often involve a minority of the community and this can cause contention among those who are not part of the process (ibid 2011). This means there is a need for consideration regarding participation, communities' suitability for tourism, local people's motivations, incentives, skills, potential products, attractions, activities and mechanisms to deal with issues such as inequality, environmental stewardship and distribution of benefits (Hayle 2014). She argues that rural community tourism development should be approached with caution and understanding, as little is known about how the process will be influenced by local conditions, culture and cognisance (ibid 2014).

Despite potential drawbacks, rural community tourism is seen as being more reflective of Jamaican culture, can create jobs, be based on regional resources and identity, lead to the improvement of rural infrastructure and local independence (Government of Jamaica 2009). Although Sharpley (2009a: 5) believes that tourism, in general, is an unsustainable pursuit, he admits that 'localised and small-scale' forms of the activity such as rural

community tourism has the potential to be sustainable. The possibilities increase if local people are the main beneficiaries of its advantages. Furthermore, rural community-based tourism initiatives need only moderate funding, services and facilities compared to other forms of tourism development.

1.1 Jamaica background

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Figure 1.2 Map of the Caribbean highlighting location of Jamaica (Google 2014a).

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Figure 1.3 Map of Jamaica showing main towns, cities, roads and landscape (Google 2014b)

Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean with a population of 2.8 million. Situated 600 miles south of Florida, 100 miles southwest of Haiti and 90 miles south of Cuba, mountain ranges straddle the landscape, the highest being the Blue Mountain peak at 7,402 feet. The land mass width varies between 21 and 52 miles and at its furthest point is 146 miles long. Accessibility around Jamaica is challenging, particularly, in rural areas due to poor maintenance of roads and local infrastructure. The major highways are located along the island's north coast (see Figure 1.3). Average temperatures rarely dip below 21 degree centigrade. Arawaks and Taino people first occupied the island, followed by the Spanish from 1494, the English from 1655 before independence in 1962. African descendants have been the majority population since the 1670s.

Jamaica is a mainly agriculture-based economy exporting crops such as bananas, sugar and coffee. Bauxite is the main mineral export. The country relies heavily on tourism and remittances. Jamaica is a relatively poor country with a debt-to-GDP ratio of more than 145 per cent, one of the highest in the world (Haughton 2013). Annual GDP is J\$26 billion of which tourism contributes around 29 per cent. Tourism accounts for some 308,500 jobs out of a workforce of 1.1 million. Unemployment stands at 13 per cent (ibid

2013). More than a million people live below the poverty line with Jamaica measuring 86 out of 187 countries on the United Nations Human Development Index (ibid 2013). Caribbean neighbours, Barbados ranked 36. The poverty line is people existing on less than US\$1 a day. Jamaica averages around 1,000 murders annually, which is among the highest in the world. Among the world's tourist destinations, Jamaica is only ranked 67 out of 140 countries and 12th regionally, according to the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report 2013 (World Economic Forum 2013). Furthermore, Jamaica was found to be uncompetitive in areas of safety and security (ranked 98); cultural resources (108); natural resources (80); environmental sustainability (98), tourism infrastructure (59) and prioritisation of tourism (seventh) (World Economic Forum 2013).

1.2 Research rationale, aims and objectives

There have been two significant reports, which sought to address the potential of tourism as a strategy for the development of rural communities in Jamaica – The Master Plan for Sustainable Tourism Development (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002) and the Rural Enterprise Development Initiative (REDI) (JSIF 2009). The master plan found the development of tourism in Jamaica to be unsustainable. The report called for greater focus on natural, historic and cultural heritage; bottom up development with local communities setting the agenda and involved at all levels; wide distribution of the benefits of tourism; use of the activity to promote gender equality and sustainable environmental approaches (ibid 2002). The report urged an increase sense of local ownership and greater interaction between tourists and locals so that visitors share in authentic ordinary local experiences (ibid 2002). The REDI report, identified 38 rural community tourism initiatives that were in various stages of development based on myriad intangible and tangible culture heritage, agriculture, foods, recreation, sport, health and nature-based activities across the island (JSIF 2009). The report found rural community enterprises to be highly informal; lacking business and regulatory alignment;

difficulties recruiting trained and experienced staff; problems accessing affordable capital and business development services and technological expertise (ibid 2009).

The overriding focus of both documents is on economic development. The reports neither discussed the social wellbeing of rural people nor investigated the meanings culture held for them in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development. Moreover, the evaluation of the extent to which local people capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism was confined to its management and structure, as opposed to the social and mental states of those involved in its development. In circumscribing their focus on the meanings culture holds for rural inhabitants, both the JSIF (2009) and the Commonwealth Secretariat (2002) reports failed to consider the most important factor in rural community development – the people, ‘whose well-being is the ultimate goal of all environment and development policies’ (United Nations 1987: xiv). Such an omission means there is little examination of the effects of commoditising local culture resources or reinvigorating rural culture economies. This thesis argues that without consideration of how rural people make sense of their realities, a deeper understanding of the extent to which they capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism, is limited. There is thus a gap in determining the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica.

Therefore, the research question that guides this study is: What is the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica? The overall aim of the study is to evaluate the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica.

This will be achieved by the following objectives:

- To examine the meanings culture holds for rural Jamaican inhabitants in relation to identity, sense of place and community development.
- To assess the extent to which local people capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism in Jamaica.

- Make recommendations for local inhabitants and policymakers in relation to the mobilisation of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica and in other locations.

1.3 Structure of thesis

The thesis is across eight chapters with the first four establishing the theoretical foundations for the research and the rest detailing the findings of the study, discussion and conclusion.

Chapter One introduces the research and outlines the purpose of the study. The section discusses some of the main themes of the research illustrating their interconnectedness and significance in helping to determine the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. In doing so, the chapter sets the scene for the study.

Chapter Two dissects the key themes of the study – culture, tourism and sustainable development – and examines them in relation to existing literature and in particular topics emphasising a Jamaican context. The chapter makes the case for the research by identifying gaps in current knowledge related to the subject matter.

Chapter Three outlines an integrated conceptual framework, which is based on the culture economy mode of development and complemented by ideas relating to cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation. The framework draws from various literature and preliminary fieldwork in Jamaica. It is applied to the findings of the study to analyse the different development paths taken by Charles Town and Seaford Town.

Chapter Four presents a critical analysis of the methodological considerations of the study. The study is built on a constructivist paradigm, relativist ontology, subjectivist

epistemology, ethnographic methodology and qualitative methods, namely: participant observation and unstructured and focus group interviews (see tables 4.7 and 4.8). The chapter also sets out the rationale for the selection of the case studies by building on the methodological foundations. The discussion encompasses the rapid rural appraisal phase of the research and details an evaluation of the Charles Town Maroon and Seaford Town German communities, their history, geography and demographics. It reviews the practical considerations, methodological principles, positionality and methods, which guides the research.

Chapter Five and Six present analysis and discussion of the empirical data produced in Charles Town Maroon and Seaford Town German communities. As an ethnographic enterprise, the chapters capture the graphic depiction and inscription, in writing, the culture of the Maroon and German descendants, making that which is invisible, visible (van Maanen 1988). The thick detailed descriptions, in the form of long quotations, give voice to rural people. Detailed field notes support participants' descriptions and capture the milieu and circumstances in which articulations occur and interpretations of how local people make sense of their realities. The findings are organised thematically in line with the review of literature.

Chapter Seven presents a critical discussion of the case study results. The conceptual framework is applied to the subject matter to analyse the different development paths taken by Charles Town and Seaford Town. The intention is to demonstrate how the key themes of the framework - culture economy, cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation – form an original blueprint for investigating the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of Charles Town and Seaford Town.

Chapter Eight concludes by integrating the various topics covered by the study to illustrate the overall contribution of the thesis. The discussion is aligned to the research question and objectives of the study. The section offers further insight to theoretical and policy implications of the research and provide recommendations and directions and areas for future research. The study concludes with reflections on my positionality,

methodology, limitations of the study and final remarks.

CHAPTER TWO

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS

**THE INFLUENCE OF TOURISM, CULTURE AND SUSTAINABILITY
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL COMMUNITIES IN JAMAICA**

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Figure 2.4 A Maroon descendant picks an unripe gourd, which when dried can be used as a container for water, food, etc. They are used as vessels for serving meals to tourists in Charles Town, as part of authentic Maroon traditions (Taylor 2011).

2.0 Introduction

The emergence of the ‘experience economy’, the increasingly ‘fluid identity’ of tourists and local economic diversification strategies are magnifying the appeal for more authentic contact with hosts away from resorts (Komppula 2013, Yeoman 2012: 53, Smith and Robinson 2006, Hawkes and Kwortnik 2006 and McLaren 2003). This means a greater emphasis on holidays centred on local people, their way of life and intangible and tangible cultural heritage. Intrinsically, ‘core resources’ such as ‘culture and hospitality’, which can give destinations a distinctive and competitive advantage, are ‘deeply rooted and embodied’ in local people (Kastenholz et al. 2012: 208). These integrate into the rural tourism experience with the countryside characterised as a repository of ‘traditional cultures’ and ‘authentic’ lifestyles’ (Kneafsey 2001: 762-763). Moreover, the continuing decline in agriculture means increasing numbers of rural inhabitants are drawing on their cultural resources, by way of tourism, to fashion new forms of livelihood (Oxford Economics 2012). This includes providing tourists with opportunities to gain a deeper and more meaningful experience of indigenous culture, sense of place, knowledge of local history, tastes of local food and drink, access to family homes and participating in and observing rituals, cultural and spiritual performances and practices (Kastenholz et al. 2012: 208).

While acknowledging these shifts, however, recent research into the development of rural communities in Jamaica has been rigid and largely driven by economic factors (JSIF 2009 and World Bank 2009). It means socio-cultural considerations such as the significance of sense of place, identity and community development to local people are not appraised (Taylor et al. 2014). Furthermore, the extent to which local people capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism is not fully examined. Inevitably, as rural inhabitants adapt to offer the type of holiday that tourists are demanding, there needs to be awareness of the complexities and challenges embedded in concepts such as commoditisation, authenticity, identity, sense of place and development (Mowforth and Munt 2009). The aim of this

chapter, therefore, is to review contemporary issues relating to these components and regarding the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica.

The evaluation begins with examination of the emergence of tourism in Jamaica, its social, economic, environmental and political dimensions. It then examines the cultural constituents of rural communities, tourism development and how these intertwine with notions of sustainability.

2.1 The rise of tourism in Jamaica

The Great International Exhibition of 1891 gave Jamaica's fledgling tourism industry a global fillip. However, it was the Caribbean island's warm climate, spectacular beaches and rural idyll, which first attracted the affluent British and North Americans (Stupart and Shipley 2012: 2, Baver and Lynch 2006 and Gmelch 2003). In their pursuit of the idealistic consumption of paradise and 'exotic' experiences, Jamaica offered the adventurous wealthy, the "isolation' and uniqueness' where fantasies could become reality (Dann 2002: 8-12). Appetites were whetted by the likes of influential American writer Ella Wheeler Wilcox, who in the early 1900s, inscribed Jamaica, as the lost 'Garden of Eden', opulent of 'nature's best gifts' and transcendent of the best combination on offer in America and Europe (Tortello 2001). Recommended, as a 'health spa', due to its invigorating atmosphere, Jamaica also attracted the indisposed that wanted to escape the cold winters of Britain and North America (Taylor 1993: 20-21).

These early visitors revelled in the pleasures and curative properties that abounded on the island and soon the commercialisation of the aeroplane would bring the nirvana within the reach of the many (Gmelch 2003). In the 1920s, tourists to Jamaica were no more than a few thousand. However, by 1938 numbers had swelled to 64,000 and following the island's political independence from Britain in 1962, the figure rocketed to 202,329 (see Table 2.1) (Jamaica Gleaner N.D.). While export of sugar and bananas, the island's main

agricultural crops, declined, tourism grew. In 1972, the socialist People's National Party (PNP) led by the charismatic former trade union negotiator Michael Manley, came to power proclaiming tourism as the new 'engine of growth' (Chambers and Airey 2001: 98). The activity was to be the foundation on which to rebuild an economy that was experiencing serious financial problems only 10 years after political independence. Manley's slogan 'Discover Jamaica / We are More than a Beach', would eventually be replaced when he left office eight years later by 'Make it Jamaica, Again' (Jamaica Tourism Board (JTB) N.D. and Harrison 2002: 50). The PNP's administration had acquired local hotels from foreign owners and devised the Domestic Holiday Programme to encourage Jamaicans to take holidays at home, as Manley's brand of socialism sparked domestic unrest putting off international tourists and investors (Harrison 2002 and Taylor 1993).

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Table 2.1 Selected Jamaica tourism arrivals 1955 – 2014 (Adapted from JTB 1955-2014 and Jamaica Gleaner N.D.) (* Up to this period, Jamaica used English pound sterling). The data in Table 2.1 demonstrates the steady rise of tourism arrivals to Jamaica since 1955 and the income generated by the activity.

Although tourism, with its overtures of exploitation, was at odds with Manley's 'self-reliance' rhetoric, his acceptance of its economic potential was the first real attempt to organise the activity since the JTB took charge under the 1955 Tourist Board Act (Chambers and Airey 2001). However, unable to meet increasing deficit payments, due to over reliance on imported goods, the PNP's tourism initiatives foundered and Manley's government was forced to seek loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to stave off bankruptcy (Weis 2004 and Chambers and Airey 2001). Tourism numbers, which were more than 415,000 in 1972, fell 30 per cent between 1975 and 1977 to 386,514 amid political turmoil, which led to a State of Emergency (Jamaica Gleaner N.D.).

Following one of the most violent General Elections in the island's history, the conservative Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), led by former music producer and promoter Edward Seaga, came to power in 1980 with a rash of privatisation and free market strategies, which saw tourism overtake bauxite, as the island's main foreign currency earner (Harrison 2002, Weis 2004 and Taylor 1993). By 1987, visitor arrivals surpassed one million for the first time (see Table 2.1). Another million arrived in 1988, despite the ravages of Hurricane Gilbert, helping the island record tourism growth of more than 300 per cent between 1970 and 1990 (Taylor 1993). Tourism contributed US\$ 953 million to the local economy in 1993 (Jamaica Gleaner N.D.). However, the following year numbers dipped from a record 1,616,340 to 1,108,871. The fall resulted from the global economic slowdown, 'sluggish consumer behaviour', rising competition, lack of air seats from key countries, local crime and tourist harassment and increasing terrorist threats (JTB N.D.). Even though tourists to Jamaica topped three million in 2006, the global recession, particularly in the United States of America, the Caribbean region's largest market, led to a decline in visitors in the intervening years (JTB 2008). Further blows

resulted from rising fuel prices and environmental shocks such as tropical storm Gustav in 2008. Despite this, 2,860,544 people visited Jamaica in 2008, a 3.9 per cent increase on the previous year; however, it was not until 2011 that visitor numbers to the island hit the three million mark again (Government of Jamaica 2010). Cruise ship stopovers, which add more than one million to Jamaica tourism visitor numbers annually, helped the island record a 3.6 per cent increase in tourist arrivals in 2009 compared to other Caribbean countries (see Table 2.2). Continuing the trend of being one of the leading cruise destinations in the world, predictions were for stopover visitors to Jamaica to exceed 1.4 million people in 2014.

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Table 2.2 Caribbean cruise ship tourist arrivals in 2009 (Government of Jamaica 2010). The data in Table 2.2 shows that Jamaica recorded a 3.6 per cent increase in tourist arrivals in 2009 compared to other Caribbean countries.

In 2013, more than half Jamaica's foreign currency revenue, over a quarter of all jobs and approximately 29 per cent of GDP was due to tourism, which attracted three million visitors generating total income in excess of US\$2 billion (Jamaica Gleaner 2013).

2.2 Jamaica's all-inclusive holiday model

‘The all-inclusive concept, in spite of occasional criticisms, is here to stay in the Caribbean for a long time, and will continue to play a major role in tourism development in the region’ (Jayawardena 2003: 171). Social issues such as high levels of crime have compounded the creation of all-inclusive enclaves extending the exclusion zone (see Figure 2.6) between visitors and local people in Jamaica (Boxill 2004 and McLaren 2003). While the all-inclusive model, hotels where all food, beverages, accommodation and entertainment are pre-paid, has been beneficial to Jamaica, it has also hindered development of the non-all-inclusive sector (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). High rates of leakage and the disinclination of guests to venture away from resorts, mean locals miss out economically and socially (Beirman 2006, Jayawardena 2003, McLaren 2003 and Tapper 1997). Moreover, airlines, hotels and other international holiday entities accrue almost 80 per cent of the expenditure of all-inclusive package holidays (Hawkes and Kwornik 2006), which means very little remains for host countries.

Along the Jamaica north coast, in particular, all-inclusive resorts carve up the best beaches with locals having to pay for use of amenities and entry (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). ‘Either by design or effect, the restrictions on locals sharing beaches with tourists are part of a strategy to ‘safeguard tourism for the visitors’ (Pattullo 2005: 103). Officially, there are no private beaches in Jamaica and commercial beachfront properties need to obtain a licence from the Natural Resources Conservation Authority (NRCA), but most prohibit the public citing ‘private and domestic purposes’ legislation (Jamaica Gleaner 1999). In towns such as Negril, Montego Bay and Ocho Rios, there have been increased inflows of people seeking tourism jobs and this has distorted the make-up of the local population (Boxill 2004). Limited land space means many job seekers end up squatting with Negril, for example, reporting a 20-30 per cent ‘squatter’ population (Boxill 2004: 270). These informal settlements often have no running water or electricity, which means they pose an environmental risk due to a build-up of waste (Daye, Chambers and Roberts 2008 and United Nations 2006).

There has been criticism of environmental degradation caused by the development of all-inclusive resorts. The 2,000-bedroom Spanish-owned Gran Bahia Principe at ‘Pear Tree River Bottom’ in Runaway Bay, St Ann, is a 200-acre development costing an estimated

US\$200 million. It is one of the largest resorts in the island's history creating approximately 40,000 jobs – 90 per cent of them local (Williams 2006 and Evans 2005). The site of the 2005 development, known locally as 'Shell Beach', is a 'small crescent of snowy sand edged by translucent water and strewn with nature's jewels' (Morris 2005). It was an 'unofficial public park' with 'one of the most beautiful vistas along the entire north coast' (Morris 2005). It also featured dry mini limestone woodland, which screened endemic wildlife; habitat for distinctive coral reef; underwater caverns; rare sponges; 'one of the best dive sites' on the island and would have been ideal for a national park or eco-tourism attraction (ibid 2005). Shell Beach was even slated for environmental protected area status in a government Green Paper, yet development of the Spanish-owned resort was approved even though it was revealed that the NRCA, a branch of the National Environment and Planning Agency (NEPA), breached its own guidelines by not circulating a marine ecology report about the site (Williams 2006). Despite vociferous protests from local people and a high court challenge by the Jamaica Environment Trust and the Northern Jamaica Conservation Association, 'this unique piece of our national heritage has now been dedicated to mass tourism' (Williams 2006, Morris 2005 and Evans 2005). What these observations illustrate is the chasm between mainstream tourism development in Jamaica and ordinary people. Even though many welcome the jobs it provides, they resent the top-down approach to its development.

Major all-inclusive developers such as Sandals and SuperClubs have reacted to criticism by initiating various programmes to encourage the spread of the benefits of tourism to the wider population (Jayawardena 2003). The tourism operators claim to buy foodstuffs and hardware materials from local farmers, markets and manufacturers; organise trips to local shops and crafts markets and provide space in resorts for local artists to set up stalls (see Figure 2.6) and sell their products (Jayawardena 2003). The actions they say are aimed at encouraging greater interaction and trade between tourists and local people. Initiatives such as the farmers' project by Sandals, which started in 1996, involve some 80 farmers who are responsible for supplying five hotels with produce (Meyer 2006). Set-up in conjunction with the Rural Agricultural Development Authority (RADA), as part of a pro-poor initiative, the programme assists farmers with seeds, equipment, start-up grants

and short-term loans, technical assistance, quality control, packaging, product diversification and developing communication channels between themselves and hotels. The programme was initiated in response to complaints by hotels of inconsistency in quality and supply of produce, high price demands, poor packaging and transportation arrangements (Meyer 2006). In 2004, SuperClubs signed up to the 'Eat Jamaican' campaign, which was backed by the Jamaica Agriculture Society (JAS) and similar to Sandals' farmers programme (Meyer, Ashley and Poultney 2004). SuperClubs claim to spend more than \$110 million annually on local produce, but has concerns about the standard of locally grown foods (Meyer, Ashley and Poultney 2004).

A key aspect of Jamaica's tourism development is how to entice visitors such as Americans to spend more time away from their all-inclusive enclaves so that other sections of the society benefit from any outlay they may make (Jayawardena 2003). Research has shown that American tourists tend to opt for shorter breaks due to having less holiday entitlement, are more partial to the pre-paid holiday option and are deterred by harassment when they venture outside their resort (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). At the same time, there needs to be greater emphasis on what is required to appeal to European travellers who prefer smaller more intimate hotels and are likely to spend a longer period in the country thus increasing the chances of linkages with other sections of the local economy (Boxill 2004). Encouraging these types of tourists to visit Jamaica could serve as an effective development tool and ensure the benefits of the activity spreads more widely.

While the all-inclusive sector makes a much-needed contribution to Jamaica's economy, its negative impacts and rigid formula are not appreciated. Initiatives by some of the major players in the all-inclusive field are aimed at negating its downside, however, greater flexibility and diversity is required to ensure that this is achieved.

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Figure 2.5 Informal business near a Negril all-inclusive resort aimed at tourists (Taylor 2011)

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Figure 2.6 A tourist examines local art and craft at Sandals Whitehouse all-inclusive resort (Taylor 2011)

2.3 Diversifying Jamaica's tourism model

Edmund Bartlett, Jamaica's tourism minister in 2010, called for a 'new paradigm, new business models, a new architecture' to broaden the appeal of the activity and to enable the island to become more competitive in an ever-changing global environment (Government of Jamaica 2010). This would involve exploiting new tourism streams; using new channels of communication such as social media; attracting new investors and developing partnerships with countries such as Cuba to compete with the likes of Dubai and Mexico, which have refashioned their tourism product to appeal to travellers who are demanding a higher quality service for less. Part of Bartlett's drive would see Jamaica shed its 'enclave' tradition, embrace more environmentally sound practices and pursue approaches that would spread the benefits of tourism to a wider cross section of the population (Government of Jamaica 2010). 'It calls for moving into non-traditional markets and driving legacy markets more strategically – it calls for a new look at community tourism and SMEs (small and medium enterprises),' said Bartlett (Government of Jamaica 2010).

Bartlett's call for the re-imaging of Jamaica's tourism reflects similar appeals, which have questioned the development path of the activity and its exclusivity. Taylor (1993: 169) argues that locals resent the apartheid-like configuration of tourism development 'with one part of the island reserved for Jamaicans and the other for tourists'. The Master Plan for Sustainable Tourism Development in Jamaica found the direction of the activity to be unsustainable (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). Even though the sun, sand and sea all-inclusive holiday model generated billions, it is concentrated in enclaves away from local inhabitants. This excludes many from participating in the advantages, planning and decision-making processes of development of the activity. The master plan calls for tourism based on local cultural resources and a greater input from ordinary people (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). 'For sustainable development, local communities must play a major role in defining, developing and managing the tourism experience so that they take ownership of the industry and are committed to providing the visitor

experience on which the success of the industry depends' (ibid 2002: vi). In other words, tourism planning should be bottom up, not top down.

The elitist nature of tourism in Jamaica means that although 80 per cent of its infrastructure is locally owned, the benefits do not 'trickle down' (Beirman 2006, Meyer 2006, Jayawardena 2003, and McLaren 2003, Dunn and Dunn 2002 and Tapper 1997). The way the activity is being developed risks alienating locals who will in turn resent the development (Hines 2011 and Jamaica Gleaner 2008). Furthermore, there is 'deliberate exclusion' of locals at waterfront developments such as Ocho Rios, a tactic enforced by stringent policing of entrances and rules of admission when cruise ships are in port (Dodman 2007: 582). However, faced with significant decline in agriculture and increasing living costs, many Jamaicans embrace the job creation and economic potential of tourism despite its many negative impacts (Williams 2009 and Weis 2004). In towns such as Falmouth and Ocho Rios, there are very few alternative forms of employment apart from tourism, which is a 'good thing', because it brings jobs and money (Williams 2009). Nevertheless, altering tourism's scope could extend its benefits to a broader breadth of Jamaicans (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). Environmental conservation, ethical and responsible tourism are associated with 'localism' and 'smallness of scale' ventures, which hold out 'greater potential for people', as opposed to grand developments, which benefit 'distant governments' (Butcher 2009: 253). This suggests a shift away from cruise ports and the mega all-inclusive developments, which dominate tourism on the island, to more small-scale community ventures that are more sustainable and ethical (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). In this way, tourism can lead the rejuvenation of rural communities, many of which lack income generation and social improvement strategies.

2.4 Rural community development in Jamaica

2.4.1 Meanings of development

Although the idea of development has its origins in the industrialisation period of the 19th Century, the concept in vogue today was orchestrated in the post-Second World War era (Korchumova 2007, Knutsson 2009 and Obeng-Odoom 2013). The reconstruction of Europe and the decolonisation of former European-run countries contributed to mobilisation of the concept (Knutsson 2009 and Obeng-Odoom 2013). Aided by the creation of global institutions such as the United Nations (UN), World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the process became suffused with the foreign policy of the United States of America (USA) (Korchumova 2007: 3 and Knutsson 2009). The USA was concerned with the ‘advancement of less economically developed’ countries and felt that poverty and lack of development could lead to dictatorships, failed states and anti-western regimes (Knutsson 2009). The USA argued that it could use its scientific and industrial advances to boost economic growth, food production and social improvements in underdeveloped countries thus encouraging peace, plenty and freedom (Korchumova 2007 and Knutsson 2009). The plan centred on US President Harry S Truman’s ‘Point Four Program’ of 1949, which ushered in the period of foreign aid and signalled the birth of the ‘development expert, the heir to the missionary and the colonial officer’ (Easterly 2006: 21). Notwithstanding the USA’s official discourse of progress and prosperity, critics (Crosswell 1999, Milner 2005, Easterly 2006, Korchumova 2007 and Knutsson 2009) have doubted the motivations behind many ‘development’ programmes. They argue that donors have benefitted over the years from interest on loan re-payments, access to new markets, and opportunities to exploit natural resources in countries lacking the financial resources required for investment in machinery, technology, infrastructure and skills. Moreover, it is often pointed out that despite countless aid reforms, dozens of different plans such as the MDGs and US\$2.3 trillion, development has failed to achieve its goal of ending world poverty (Easterly 2006: 10). Countries receiving foreign aid have actually seen retarded economic development with none exhibiting signs of sustained economic growth after getting hand outs (Crosswell 1999). The problem is that development remains rooted in the colonial past, weighed down by a legacy of mistrust, Western ‘self-interested objectives’ and ‘incompetence’ (Easterly 2006: 244). ‘Under the theory that ‘whites know best’, colonialists forced development schemes on the locals

rather than respecting their economic choices' (ibid 2006: 247). While today's development community may hold the best intentions, many critics argue that it is beset by the same problems that dogged its colonial counterparts – 'excessive self-confidence', 'coercive top-down planning, desultory knowledge of local conditions, and little feedback from the locals on what worked' (ibid 2006: 247).

This approach has been typified in Jamaica. Faced with severe economic problems in the 1970s, the island signed up for its first World Bank programme loan of US\$30 million in December 1977. The money was to pay for imported 'raw materials, intermediate goods and capital equipment' for the agricultural sector (World Bank 1977). Earlier that year, the Jamaican government had drawn the first tranche (US\$22 million) of an IMF Standby arrangement. Further agreements in the 1980s and 1990s with the World Bank and the IMF saw Jamaica receive adjustment loans of more than US\$800 million. While the terms and conditions of each loan varied, they revolved around the initial 1977 agreement of devaluation of the Jamaican currency, cutbacks in public sector spending and pay, increased taxation, price liberalisation, restrictions of the local net assets of the Bank of Jamaica, limits on bank loans to the public and private sectors and shrinking the government.

However, the World Bank has admitted that its conditions were 'weak, and often too vague to be easily monitored' (World Bank 1998: 6). Terms required only 'satisfactory progress', 'studies or preparatory' work instead of 'decisive action' (ibid 1998: 6). Moreover, the bank had relied on reports prepared by Jamaica for the IMF and opted for 'overly general presumptions' from adjustment programmes in 'many' countries instead of 'local empirical material' (ibid 1998: 11-12). 'The lack of adequate social impact analysis and participatory processes to secure social consensus may also explain the lack of domestic ownership of the structural adjustment program' (ibid 1998: 12). The intended reforms proved catastrophic. Jamaica's total economic output went into reverse and became lower than it was before it received the loans. In a six-year period from 1979 to 1985, GDP fell by 14 per cent, unemployment increased by almost one-fourth, spending cuts in health and social services, living standards deteriorated and government

debt repayments rose from five per cent of GDP to 15 per cent (ibid 1998). ‘By disregarding the social factors at the ground level, international organizations attempted to develop Jamaica using a model of Western economic investment and development’ (Patterson 2010: 3). Contemporary Western approaches are top-down and encourage absolute liberalisation and large-scale development through international organisational cooperation and global market structures (ibid 2010). However, applying these principles to developing countries like Jamaica meant the basic needs of local people were ignored, which resulted in an ill-suited policy from which the island has never really recovered (ibid 2010: 3).

Western assistance can help developing countries like Jamaica, Easterly (2006) believes, but first, the lessons of the colonial era must be learned. These include increased emphasis on home-grown development, feedback from local people and greater accountability of aid agencies using before and after surveys and publicising the outcome of their actions and local people’s representations (ibid 2006). A logical way forward, argues Korchumova (2007), would be integration of as many aspects as possible of the lives of people in the Global South, their community or country in each project. A ‘basic needs’ policy or ‘ground-level analysis of local conditions’ incorporating micro-level problems such as health, education and future development programmes could be a successful framework for developing countries (Patterson 2010: 4). While these various bottom-up approaches do not purport to show that locals know best, they do indicate their involvement is critical to local development acceptance and success. This has been reinforced by a shift in policies emphasising poverty alleviation as opposed to development measures. Initiatives such as development vouchers, cash grants, good governance and information sharing are intended to empower local individuals by allowing them greater autonomy to solve their own problems (Easterly 2006, Korchumova 2007 and Noxolo 2012). However, Noxolo (2012) warns that moves such as these could result in greater control by powerful donors leaving the poorest local communities with the responsibility for poverty alleviation, but without the means to change, the structural causes of poverty. For example, by allowing locals to apply aid assistance how they see fit might give the impression that Western donors no longer have

control of the development agenda in developing countries. However, Noxolo (2012: 36) argues that ‘control over less is balanced against tighter control over what remains’ with prerequisites of greater accountability such as specifically defined roles and responsibilities; hierarchical administration structures; rigid management control of targets, monitoring and review; intensification of information collection and performance-related schemes. Moreover, the digital technologies on which the West’s implied post-bureaucracy relies could be costly ruling out people in the poorest countries from being involved in information sharing arrangements (ibid 2012).

2.4.2 Meanings of community and rurality

The evolution of community tourism is a new phenomenon in Jamaica offering visitors the chance to interact with locals in rural areas away from traditional resort enclaves (Hayle 2014). However, the contested nature of the term community means those involved need to be aware of what the relationship between local inhabitants and tourism should be (ibid 2014). Notions of community are inextricably linked with identity, culture, history and a sense of place (Cole 2006). Even though a distinctive cultural identity can be an important marketable resource for local inhabitants (ibid 2006), how this is achieved largely rests on the dynamics of a community and the actors involved. Established power structures, hierarchies and exclusionary practices are pervasive in communities and differences within groups can affect management of resources, local politics, strategic interactions and alliances (Koster 2007 and Agrawal and Gibson 1999). Presumed coherent and having clear identities and a ‘commonality of purpose’, communities, ‘more often than not, are made up of an agglomeration of factions and interest groups often locked in competitive relationships’ (Joppe 1996: 475). It is, therefore, important to be aware of their make-up, the way they operate and the leadership structures involved, however loose they may appear (Hayle 2014). The intimation is that a lack of awareness of these factors could directly impacts the development of rural communities and the roles played by those involved.

The conflicting nature of communities is exacerbated by perceptions of rurality, which, in

Jamaica, is viewed and consumed somewhat negatively. Rural areas or 'country' connotes association with 'backwardness' (Jamaica Gleaner 2011a). A letter in the Jamaica Gleaner marking the success of top rural school, Titchfield High of Portland in the final of Television Jamaica's 2011 Schools Challenge Quiz competition, typifies this association. It noted that rural schools are stigmatised as 'country schools' and 'being called 'country' is considered somewhat derogatory' (Jamaica Gleaner 2011: A8). Rurality and the countryside conjure notions of unsophistication; the primitive, as unflattering urban terms such as 'countryfied' and 'country bumpkin' denotes (Williams 1976: 81). Statistics, which show lower levels of literacy among rural inhabitants - 73 per cent compared to 88.1 per cent for people from the Kingston metropolitan area, reinforce such negative conceptions of rural in Jamaica (Jennings-Craig 2004). According to the World Bank (2000/01), lack of education is a primary contributor to rural poverty. This marks the decline in agriculture, which sees rural areas increasingly defined by poverty and unemployment (Csaki 2003).

2.4.3 The sustainable development of rural communities

Jamaica's perennial economic hardship has 'stymied' sustainable development measures on the island (Besson and Momsen 2007: 147). Part of the reason is the dichotomy of Global North South representations of the concept of sustainable development. Northern countries use exorbitant trade tariffs on exported products to protect their own manufacturing base and restrict industrial development in the South, claiming it would exacerbate deterioration of the environment. With many of its crops specifically grown for export, the South is under pressure to adopt, often expensive, environmentally friendly development policies compounding attempts to alleviate poverty and improve living standards. Moreover, global south countries like Jamaica face the increasing environmental phenomena of global warming, rising sea level, hurricanes, droughts and crop failures. There are also infrastructure and socio-economic challenges such as poor roads, escalating crime, unemployment, rising energy and food costs and political upheavals. However, the costs of tackling these issues are too exorbitant for countries such as Jamaica.

The debate about sustainability could be defined as the ‘ideas that emerge when concern for the global environment and concern for global social justice meet’ (Dresner 2008: 33). Faced with enormous economic pressures, both international and domestic, it is understandable when countries like Jamaica over exploit their environmental resource base. It means the island’s interpretation of the concept of sustainable development – ‘ensuring secure livelihoods for all citizens, present and future’ (Government of Jamaica 2008), appears more of a pipe dream than a reality.

Since the United Nations Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in Barbados in 1994, the island has initiated a raft of sustainable development policies and programmes (see Table 2.3), but their execution have been inconsistent (Jamaica Observer 2002). Jamaica’s National Sustainable Development Framework (NSDF) rests on broad participation of various sectors and improving existing initiatives and practices (Government of Jamaica 2008). It encompasses economic competence, social wellbeing, environmental conservation and political, ethical, cultural, peace, security, psychological, technological and institutional concerns (Government of Jamaica 2008). The NSDF programme has become an intrinsic feature of ‘Vision 2030 Jamaica: National Development Plan’, a blueprint to help the island achieve developed country status by 2030 (Government of Jamaica 2008 and PIOJ 2009).

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Table 2.3 Sustainable development legislation in Jamaica (Government of Jamaica 2003)

Despite the Jamaican government's ambitions, implementing sustainable development measures are a complex challenge. A critical determinant is strengthening people's capabilities to ameliorate their own circumstances and to make decisions that will influence their future in positive ways (Mishra 2013). This emphasis on people, argues Packalén (2009: 118), means sustainable development is, essentially, a debate about 'ways of thinking, values, culture and lifestyles. However, the complexities of human nature mean pursuit of sustainable development may never be fully realised, as there are no simple solutions to the many questions infused in the concept (Packalén 2009: 118). 'For the broad mass of Jamaicans to join in a campaign for a sustainable future, there has to be a sense that all will benefit from actions taken and efforts made' (Mishra 2013: 45). With the bulk of Jamaica's economic endeavours contingent on the island's natural resources, implementing sustainable development initiatives is of critical importance to ease any negative impacts (Besson and Momsen 2007 and Mishra 2013). While costs are, undoubtedly, a major influence, the fact the 1994 Barbados Plan of Action was tilted more towards environmental conservation than to economic development, adds to the difficulties of implementation. However, as Dale (2002: 22) points out, for development to be sustainable it must take account of social, ecological and economic factors; of the

living and non-living resource base; and of the long-term as well as the short-term advantages and disadvantages of alternative actions (Dale 2002: 22). Nevertheless, ideas relating to sustainable development are complex and contested and as Banerjee (2003: 145) makes clear, can mean ‘different things to different people’. While this study recognises the importance of sustainable development, the discussion is more aligned to ideas relating to the social and cultural dimensions. This ties in with debates that place people and their wellbeing at the centre of concerns about sustainable development.

2.5 Role of culture in rural community tourism development

In this study, culture is taken to be a set of resources, which include intangible and tangible cultural heritage, experience, knowledge, identity, values, beliefs, traditions, customs, cuisine and sense of place that are being used in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica.

Tourism’s potential to penetrate communities has focussed attention on its economic, environmental, social and culture¹ impacts. The four dimensions are the pillars of sustainable development and serve as a template for global human development and freedoms (United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) 2013). Within the context of this study, they illustrate how notions of culture, tourism and sustainable development intertwine and have become key concepts in the development of rural communities in Jamaica. This stems from the premise that culture provides the basis for tourism and money generated by the activity is used to fund conservation (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 1999). Furthermore, local communities are ‘keepers and interpreters of cultural heritage, traditions and forms of knowledge, which may be used for tourism purposes’ (UNESCO 2006: 50). Culture is held as both a ‘driver and enabler of sustainable development’ with evidence over the

¹ In 2010, culture was officially added to these three dimensions, which were originally outlined in the 1987 Brundtland Report, ‘Our Common Future’. Together they form the four pillars of sustainable development, a guide for human development and freedoms (UCLG 2013: 1).

past decade pointing to the failure of development policies and enterprises that exclude the dimension of culture (International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies 2013). 'The truth is that development rooted in culture and sensitive to local context is in fact the only one which is likely to be sustainable' (United Nations Economic and Social Council 2013: 2). Culture is thus instrumental to development, while Principle 3 of the '*Charter on Sustainable Tourism*' makes it clear that tourism development 'shall be based on criteria of sustainability' with a requisite to be 'ecologically bearable in the long term', 'economically viable' and 'ethically and socially equitable for local communities' (Payne, Johnston, and Twynam 2008: 83). Principle 3 further adds that for 'tourism to be sustainable, it must recognise and support local people and their culture' (ibid 2008: 83). Moreover, the sustainable development of tourism can help to realise the MDGs of poverty, hunger, gender inequality and environmental degradation (UNWTO 2014). These observations show how notions of culture, tourism and sustainable development are inextricably linked and influential in local community development debates.

Although tourism's wide-ranging linkages makes it critical to the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica, the way it is currently structured is deemed unsustainable, as only few locals benefit or are involved in making decisions about its development (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). To be sustainable, the activity needs to be appropriate to Jamaica's environment, benefit everyone regardless of gender or orientation, be in line with cultural identity and the concerns of locals, involve all stakeholders in decision-making and preserve the environment (ibid 2002). In this regard, genres of community-based tourism that account for the economic and social wellbeing of locals, their environment and culture now form the basis for the development of rural communities across the island. Factors such as the meaningful involvement of locals, greater interaction between hosts and guests, exchange of ideas and information, cultural appreciation and forging new friendships are part of the strategy for the sustainable development of rural communities by way of tourism (Hayle 2014 and Koster 2007). Achieving sustainable goals could lead to economic independence, local control, ecological conservation and preservation of community culture (Wint 2002). These

linkages involving culture, tourism and notions of sustainability have ensured their pivotal role in community tourism development action plans.

2.5.1 Roots of culture resources

The culture resources some Jamaicans are using in the sustainable development of rural communities are rooted in the narratives of migration, resistance to slavery and connectedness to Africa. This is epitomised by the Maroons, who resisted British colonial forces until the signing of a peace treaty in 1739, which gave them some autonomy (Bilby 2005) and the German migrants who encountered severe hardships adjusting to a new life in Jamaica in the 1830s (Senior 1978). The peasant uprising against the colonial plantation system in the 19th Century and Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement of the 20th Century, which attempted to counteract imperialist and colonialist ideology and way of life (Chevannes 1994), are also part of Jamaica's history that are being refashioned into contemporary culture resources. These manifest in artefacts, crafts, performances, storytelling, cuisine, music forms, sports, beliefs, values, traditions, customs, identity, spirituality, creativity, sense of place, cultural connectedness and belonging. Together with the island's natural heritage, they form a cultural base on which local inhabitants are capitalising to develop their communities by way of tourism (Oxford Economics 2012).

Emanating from opposition to subjugation and imperialism, symbolisms of Africa demonstrated a people's resilience and desire for liberation and to determine their own way of life and expressions (Chevannes 1994). Having fled to the most inaccessible mountain hideaways, (see Figure 2.8) the Maroons, for example, were able to establish their own 'social organization, patterns of kinship, culture and defense' (Bilby 2005). Such isolation has largely enabled them to maintain their unique way of life, which makes them stand out from the rest of the islanders and engender their potential to appeal to the modern tourist seeking authentic experiences (Chambers cited in Hall, Kirkpatrick and Mitchell 2005). The Maroons' cultural baton has, in the main, been taken up by the

Rastafari, who like them, have sought to maintain a sense of place, identity, belonging and cultural connectedness through linkages to Africa (Campbell 1985).

The achievement of the Rastafari is an illustration of how these manifestations survive despite undergoing continuous reconstruction (Atkinson et al. 2005: 196). Culture can thus be seen as ‘central to the imagining and re) making of the world around us’ (Sharp 2009: 150). The implication is that culture is a tool for development, reconstruction of place, traditions and identity. Contemporary brand Jamaica, for example, is themed on the Rastafari, their codes of behaviour, dress, art forms and way of life (Niaah and Niaah 2008). This is particularly prevalent in the various genres of reggae music, which embodies the culture of everyday life on the island and attracts huge numbers of tourists to Jamaica (Government of Jamaica 2009). They visit in search of shared experiences with locals and their way of life, out of a sense of belonging and to enjoy festivals and concerts such as Reggae SumFest, Sting or the Juncunoo street masquerade, which features music, dance, mime and African symbolisms (Oxford Economics 2012, Niaah and Niaah 2008, McLaren 2003, Sherlock and Bennett 1998).

Representations such as Levi Roots, the dreadlock British Jamaican Reggae Reggae sauce entrepreneur, add to the island’s allure and international recognition in areas of cuisine. ‘Brand Jamaica still remains the key driver for tourism on the island; Bob Marley put us on the map’ (Oxford Economics 2012: 33). More generally, the red, green and gold colours (a representation of the Ethiopian flag) and dreadlock imagery of the Rastafari adorn the assortment of artefacts, crafts, paintings, portraits and clothing that are sold to tourists across the Caribbean (see Figure 2.9 and 7.30). Part of their underlying appeal is that they are symbolic of resistance or ‘social differentiation’ (Chevannes 1994: 6). As cultural artefacts, they are ‘woven into social conflict, social and cultural divisions and the constitution and reconstitution of communities’ (Longhurst 2007: 12). This is visible in rural Jamaica, where culture is, largely, differentiated in terms of identity and a sense of place – characteristics refashioned by local people in the development of their communities.

Identity in this context connotes with the unique and diverse cultural make up of Jamaican communities and how local people define and interpret self. Part of this relates to their cultural connections in terms of place of origin such as Africa, Europe, Asia and elsewhere and intertwines with hardships and the determination to survive (Sherlock and Bennett 1998). In essence, it is a composition of disparate peoples who have become integrated and reintegrated under a single geographic boundary or as the island's motto indicates 'Out of many, one people' (Government of Jamaica 2009). This has led to a cultural resource of a diverse and complex fusion shaped by continuity and discontinuity, difference and homogeneity (Hall 1989). German migrants, for example, volunteered to start a new life in Jamaica to escape political strife in Europe in the 1830s (Senior 1978). Faced with terrible hardships adapting to the conditions, they constructed new identities and attachment to their community and to the local African descendants, who they relied on when they arrived (Senior 1978).

Like the Maroons, the Germans draw on their culture resources and sense of place in interpreting the meanings culture holds for them and in the development of their communities. Tourism planners in Jamaica are recognising this. 'Many tourists to the island have visited because of their fascination with at least one aspect of our culture and what is deemed to be authentically Jamaican: the people, the music, our cultural heritage or the sheer beauty of the island' (Government of Jamaica 2009: 15). At the same time, however, the government admits the all-inclusive brand has 'masked' the culture of the island and that community-based tourism should be given more prominence, as it could lead to greater authentic experiences (ibid 2009). In this regard, ministers also concede more needs to be done to capitalise on the island's cultural influences and heterogeneity to drive community development.

In 2009, the Jamaica government published *Culture, Creative Industries and Values Sector Plan*, which defined culture as a 'way of life' and the country's 'dynamic reservoir' that includes 'knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, customs, traditions, foods, distinctive institutions and its ways of making meaning in life' (Government of Jamaica 2009). The plan acknowledged the significance of culture in the construction of

identities, how Jamaica's pluralised composition added to its appeal and the importance of locals to be able to commoditise their culture for economic gain. While the plan accepted culture's role in attracting tourists to the island, it argued the potential of community-based tourism in bolstering this capacity lacked financial and strategic investment and was in need of private/public sector partnerships and greater commitment (ibid 2009). Former education minister Andrew Holness, who held the post of Prime Minister for two months in 2011, has argued that the transforming and dynamic features of culture needed to intertwine with the island's entire strategy for economic and social development (Government of Jamaica 2011). In other words, commoditising culture could help to realise the goal of economic and social wellbeing and poverty reduction in rural Jamaican communities.

2.5.2 Culture commoditisation

Critiques such as Boorstin's (1964), MacCannell's (1973, 1976) and Greenwood's (1977) that tourists fall prey to hosts' staging or faking representations of their culture purely to make money, largely reflects rigid antiquated Eurocentric perspectives (Robinson and Clifford 2012: 573). Moreover, they neglect the capability, experience and personal choice of tourists in deciding the type and presentation of culture they consume (Park 2014: 61). The reimagining of luxury and wealth, argues Yeoman (2012: 51), means identity and status are increasingly being defined by cultural capital, which is triggering a desire for 'constant change', 'collecting countries', 'trying new things'. The multiple-choice nature of this demand has resulted in a 'fluid identity' where holidays are all about securing deeper meaningful and unique cultural experiences irrespective of their differentiation (ibid 2012). Tourists are not simply confined to traditional cultural attractions such as museums and galleries, shops, bars and restaurants, but enjoy ordinary pursuits like 'walking around', 'people watching' and engaging with 'local cultures and living' (Yeoman 2012: 53 and Smith and Robinson 2006: 8). 'It is particularly these aspects of ordinary life that tourists absorb and on their return home constitute their narratives of memory of experience' (ibid 2006: 8). While this points to a reconstruction of the malleability of tourists' consumption of culture, it is also recognition of a

differentiation of the tourism commodity being offered by hosts to meet this pluralised demand.

Commoditisation is often presented as having a negative impact altering local ways of life and behaviour, however, culture is a fluid entity susceptible to metamorphosis just as much as being offered for sale as being influenced by globalisation, television, social media, etc. (Dolezal 2011). Groups such as the Jamaican Maroons exploit their culture to try to create jobs for young people in their communities and to preserve their rich traditions. They entertain visitors with sacred songs, herbal remedies, ‘talking to ancestral spirits’, drumming, woodcarving and hunting wild pigs, which are then jerked (style of cooking) using traditional spices. The Maroons believe the income from tourism can help to secure cultural identity, make them stronger, promote greater pride among youths and sustain their existence (McFadden 2012). ‘The world is turning into one large village, so it makes no sense for Maroon villages to keep out tourists. Tourists and the money they bring stimulate people in the Maroon communities to produce the products that represent their culture’ (ibid 2012). For them exploiting their culture will do more to preserve it and keep it updated than keeping it hidden from tourists’ gaze.

Ignoring the ‘recursive’ nature of culture, argue Cohen and Stewart (1997: 272), results in ‘fossilisation’, which serves to distort progressive indigenous traditions (Smith 2009: 11). Moreover, terms such as ‘staged authenticity’ and ‘commoditisation’ may even be meaningless to locals, who have ways of differentiating their culture and only exposing what they wish to outsiders (Dolezal 2011: 134). Culture is made real by ‘encoded meanings in symbolic representations’, which can only be ‘decoded by the culture’s holders’ (Maccarrone-Eaglen 2009: 11). In other words, even exposing tourists to the ‘back’ region of a host’s culture (Dolezal 2011: 134), the meanings and interpretations it holds for them would be different to that of local people.

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Figure 2.7 Sambo Hill Maroon hideaway in Charles Town (Taylor 2011).

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Figure 2.8 Images of the Rastafari (Taylor 2011)

2.6 Rural community tourism development

2.6.1 Community tourism as a development strategy

The idea of community tourism as a development strategy is embedded in Agenda 21, the United Nations' blueprint for sustainable development, which encourages the establishment of 'eco and other forms of tourism' (UNWTO 2011a and United Nations 1994: 67). This is reinforced by the MDGs, four of which - eradicating poverty, gender equality, environmental sustainability and global partnerships for development – are dependent on tourism outcomes (UNWTO 2011b). Perspicuously, initiatives such as UNWTO's Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) emphasise creation of formal and informal community centred sustainable tourism operations to generate income. In agreeing that tourism should be developed to benefit local communities, strengthen the local economy, employ local people, and use local materials, agricultural products and traditional skills; delegates, who signed up to the Berlin Declaration on Biological Diversity and Sustainable Tourism in 1997, assured community tourism's passage as a development tactic (International Conference on Biodiversity and Tourism 1997).

Even though they were unspecified, their inherent characteristics – natural environment, warm climate, rich cultural heritage and abundant human resources, meant developing countries were often exploratory ground for community tourism initiatives (Sustainable Tourism for Development 2013). For Jamaica, rural community tourism has become an integral component in the development of rural communities and helping to extend the benefits of tourism more broadly (Velasquez, Yashiro and Yoshimura 2006; Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). 'Nobody will dispute the fact that destination communities must benefit if tourism is to be viable and sustainable in the long term' (Salazar 2011: 2). This is particularly the case where tourism development involves 'economically or otherwise disadvantaged people' as a way of mitigating the effects of mass tourism (Duffy 2002: 101).

An increase in environmentally conscious tourists 'seeking greater authentic contact with the host community', is also a trend that is precipitating the development of community tourism (Government of Jamaica 2010 and Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). Community tourism is seen as playing an important role in generating livelihoods as well as conserving the local landscape, amenities and improving social cohesion (de Ferranti, Perry and Lederman 2005). A key factor, however, is that the activity has to be integrated within the contexts of a 'village-based delivery system that ensures the participation by the largest possible number of locals' (ibid 2005: 213). In this way, the whole community benefits, from the owners of small guesthouses to farmers, vendors and art and craft manufacturers (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002).

Although the role of local people in community tourism development is crucial for realising the 'global goal of sustainable development', there is a lack of appreciation that progression of the activity is intrinsically different from other forms of development (Salazar 2011: 10). Tourism development is underpinned by a 'web of shifting power relations' in communities such as an uneven spread of the economic benefits, but everyone sharing any resulting negative impacts (Salazar 2011: 10). Progress can be suffused with discord and despite local participation being advocated by public bodies, it is the minority that often influences critical decisions, with little or no input from the majority (ibid 2011). Frequently, local elites control the reins of power exacerbating inequalities with the disadvantaged omitted from the process and women relegated to modest service roles.

In the development of community tourism, Salazar (2011: 10) and Choi and Murray (2010) argue that real agreement and genuine local control are not always, 'possible, practical or even desired' by some communities. Moreover, notions of community, tourism, sustainable development and the actual term development are contested thus adding to the complexities of integrating the various concepts into a cohesive strategy. Such is the excoriation surrounding tourism development that Sharpley (2009a: 5) believes it is a myth that the activity can ever be sustainable. However, he accepts that successful genres are 'localised and small-scale' (Sharpley (2009a: 5), like those which

typically constitutes community tourism, and the part played by locals. In this context, the role of local government is critical in involving residents and stakeholder groups in the planning process and devising ways to empower local inhabitants rather than simply give assistance (Choi and Murray 2010). The input of local inhabitants can enhance the planning process rather than interfere with it and involving them in honing their community's vision, goals and policy, boosting their self-esteem and their quality of life (Choi and Murray 2010). 'If government fails to empower residents, the success of tourism development and sustainability cannot be guaranteed' (ibid 2010: 589).

2.6.2 *Rural community tourism models*

There are no homogenous rural community-based tourism (CBT) models or theoretical perspectives, which can bring or predict success - initiatives are wide-ranging and diverse. In most cases, however, rural community tourism is an amalgamation of activities involving agriculture and natural and cultural heritage that reflect either bottom up, locally led or top down, government led approaches (Dukic et al. 2014). Some examples of rural community tourism though are stand alone, such as where there is a distinctive group of people, landscape feature or agricultural produce. In other cases, social events or attractions can be developed or co-opted in rural areas with the sole intention of luring tourists. Festivals, based on music, food or other genres, for example, can be a source of socio-economic generation for communities with periodic events aimed at local, national and international visitors. They can generate income for locals as well as be 'important gathering points for communities' (Gibson and Connell 2003: 173). 'Festivals provide a community with marketing opportunities in terms of establishing an image, name brand and educating the wider population' (ibid 2003: 173). The situated nature of certain foods can help to 'facilitate local expressions of taste in production and consumption' (MacDonald 2013: 95). Moreover, increased access to global media and digital platforms, can lead to a greater awareness of the appeal of the rural idyll and the various activities they now host.

Whatever the activity, however, the emphasis of rural community tourism is on the social

and economic benefits for locals. Furthermore, initiatives can help to revive cultural sites and empower local people to take charge of their heritage (Holland, Burian and Dixey 2003). In some cases, projects are based on community associations, as opposed to strictly business terms and issues can arise such as disunity, lack of enthusiasm, political sensitivity, questions over who benefits and land rights (ibid 2003). Environmental concerns, particularly in more developed rural communities and new infrastructure such as roads and electrification can also lead to socio-cultural problems (McLennan et al. 2012). It is, therefore, important to consult and have the support of the community to circumvent possible problems. Fun et al. (2014), insist the greater the involvement of local communities, the more successful tourism developments are in achieving sustainable rural tourism. In rural Mpondoland, South Africa, for example, it was found that culture was not only valuable as a tourist attraction, but as a galvanising and inspiring tool that engenders development of rural CBT (Giampiccoli and Kalis 2012). 'The original concept of CBT must be seen as linking the concepts of sustainability, empowerment and self-reliance' (ibid 2012: 174). Tourism, its integration of local people and inherent linkages are thus critical in the sustainable development of rural communities.

2.6.3 Community tourism development in Jamaica

For an increasing number of rural Jamaican inhabitants, 'farming just isn't viable anymore'; tourism is the 'number one' income generation strategy (JSIF 2009a and Baker 2007). As has been highlighted earlier, the demise of farming is part of a global restructuring of agriculture. In rural Jamaica, large numbers of farmers have lost, in many cases, their sole source of income. Agriculture has come to be seen as 'old time business' with small size plots, lack of communication and marketing skills among farmers, unmaintained rural infrastructure, expensive machinery and antiquated practices (Jamaica Gleaner 2009 and Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). It is heightened by the history of land use, a 'hangover from the colonial slave plantation era' (Beckford, Barker and Bailey 2007: 277). The prime fertile plains and valleys are still owned by the large estates or commercial concerns, while the majority of rural Jamaicans struggle to eke out a living

on the steep hillsides (ibid 2007: 277). Farming on these hilly terrains not only limits the type and number of crops, which can be cultivated, but means farms are more susceptible to environmental shocks such as tropical storms, droughts and landslides.

Whereas agriculture in Jamaica is dependent on a few specific crops, tourism's operation is versatile and in 2010 generated 6.8 times the export revenue of all traditional agriculture earnings (Oxford Economics 2012). The diverse nature of the activity serves the triple functions of sustaining the rural environment, boosting economic growth and protecting local people's way of life (Bishop and Phillips 2003). Furthermore, as a service industry, tourism is seen as 'invisible export' in that its products are consumed in the country of production (Oxford Economics 2012: 31). Like farming, tourism is labour-intensive and provides work for a largely unskilled workforce, even though good hospitality requires training and ability (Hall, Kirkpatrick and Mitchell 2005: 3). Moreover, tourism encompasses a wide range of services that can penetrate rural areas rich in culture resources.

The type of tourism being developed in Jamaica, as part of the island's rural community development strategy, focuses on local history, art and craft, music forms such as reggae, mento and ska, community festivals, cuisine, natural resources and attractions (JSIF 2009). Whether styled as community-based tourism or 'villages as businesses' initiatives, the aim is to offer local inhabitants the opportunity to earn an income from tourism by hosting guests in rural areas away from the main resort enclaves. These rural community-based tourism enterprises (see Tables 2.4 and 2.5) are owned and managed by locals and aimed at both national and international travellers seeking 'authentic', 'uncontrived' and 'natural' experiences (JSIF 2009, World Bank 2009 and Hawkes and Kwortnik 2006: 370). If managed effectively, it is envisaged that rural community-based tourism could help to eradicate poverty and illiteracy and augment the 'natural creative energy of Jamaicans by transforming average citizens into entrepreneurs' (JSIF 2009). To achieve this, argues community tourism pioneer, Diana McIntyre Pike, there needs to be an 'integrated approach' comprising all the characteristics of a community and working in tandem with what the traditional resorts offer (McIntyre-Pike and Bonitto N.D). A

‘balance between time at the beach and time in the community’ is a combination that appeals to tourists (Hawkes and Kwrotnik 2006: 378).

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Table 2.4 Community tourism enterprises by parish (JSIF 2009)

Using tourism as a development strategy in rural communities across Jamaica means local people can ‘realise the benefits of tourism in their own environment’ (McIntyre-Pike and Bonitto N.D.). Furthermore, it could lead to the revitalisation of localities with

practices such as renovating redundant buildings, conserving and improving the local environment and cultural traditions, which can engender a source of civic pride (Hayle 2014). 'Community tourism is not a simple product or single business, but has aspects including transport, accommodation, catering, attractions, information and hospitality' (see Table 2.5) (McIntyre-Pike and Bonitto N.D.). Three per cent of international trips are for rural tourism, which equates to some 21 million tourists (UNWTO 2003). Although growth in rural tourism is about six per cent a year, which is higher than for conventional forms of the activity, the increase is expected to stay constant rather than accelerate rapidly like mass tourism (UNWTO 2003). Moreover, while improvement of the infrastructure of Jamaica's resort tourism needs significant investment, rural community-based tourism initiatives require moderate funding with the government needing to provide only basic services and facilities (World Bank 2009). Furthermore, rural community-based tourism could help to attend to the 'social resentment' local Jamaicans feel toward mainstream mass tourism (Dunn and Dunn 2002: 147).

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Table 2.5 Types of community tourism enterprises and their activities (JSIF 2009)

However, while the attributes of tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica can be clearly defined, the transition process has been challenging. Despite a World Bank loan of US\$14.2 million in 2009 to partly fund development of rural community-based tourism businesses, problems persist. Many enterprises do not have the capacity to react to changing market forces and experience difficulties accessing affordable capital, business development services, and technological expertise and management skills (World Bank 2009). Neither the Jamaican business sector nor the government appears fully geared up to exploit the ‘tremendous potential’ of rural community-based tourism focusing on nature, culture and adventure’ (ibid 2009: 2).

Part of the inadequacy of harnessing the capacity of tourism for rural community development may stem from the fact that even though tourism is a very diverse activity, it is often packaged and sold homogenously. In other words, no distinction is made between mass and other forms of tourism such as rural community-based, adventure, etc. At the same time, in some rural Jamaican communities, tourism is portrayed as a ‘panacea’ due to a lack of other local development strategies (Chambers cited in Hall, Kirkpatrick and Mitchell 2005: 196). Some projects are financially deficient and operate only on a part-time basis with owners having to find work elsewhere to supplement their income (JSIF 2009). Many enterprises are informal, lack commercial expertise, are not legally registered or licensed by JTB or the Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCo),

have no business plan, keep no financial records and experience difficulty attracting and retaining trained workers (JSIF 2009). Furthermore, some projects need help to change from an informal venture into a commercial entity (ibid 2009).

2.7 Summary

Changes in taste and economic diversification strategies are altering the characteristics of holidays for tourists and their hosts alike. Although the rigid all-inclusive holiday formula continues to dominate the industry, increasing numbers of tourists are seeking authentic cultural experiences and interaction with local people away from resorts. With rural areas seen as a repository of traditional lifestyles and culture, many local people could potentially benefit from the shifts in tourism. Moreover, some rural areas like those in Jamaica have been badly affected by the fallout from agriculture and tourism could provide a much-needed source of income for them. Many rural inhabitants are now attempting to tap into this livelihood stream by developing rural community tourism initiatives centred on local intangible and tangible culture resources, accommodation, sports, adventure, etc.

However, the process, which essentially marks a transition from farming to a rural economy based on culture resources and local identity is complex and challenging. This is because of the contested nature of some of the factors involved such as community, impacts of tourism, commoditisation of culture and ensuring that development can be sustained. Moreover, rural areas often have poor infrastructure; local people can find it difficult to obtain finance to develop rural community tourism enterprises, find suitable workers and many lack communication and marketing skills. It means that while the economic potential of rural community tourism is clear, less so is the extent to which local people are capable of exploiting the possibilities. The following chapter draws from these perspectives to develop a framework to investigate the issues surrounding the development of rural community tourism in Jamaica.

CHAPTER THREE

INTEGRATED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CONCEPTUALISING THE ROLE OF CULTURE AND TOURISM IN THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL COMMUNITIES IN JAMAICA

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Figure 3.9 A local street higgler pushes his handcart through the streets of Charles Town offering green bananas, yams and sugar cane for sale (Taylor 2011).

3.0 Introduction

This chapter builds on the literature review and preliminary field research to set out the conceptual underpinning of the study. It conceptualises rural communities in Jamaica as complex multidimensional entities whose development strategies are being extended beyond agricultural production to encompass cultural dimensions and to make progress towards sustainable practices. The chapter integrates three sets of ideas from different literatures to develop a distinctive conceptual framework to analyse the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. The discussion begins with the rationale for an integrated conceptual framework.

3.1 Conceptual underpinning

With development being re-defined, globally and locally, there is a greater emphasis on bottom-up approaches, the specificity of place, society and culture (Loulanski 2006). This stems largely from the advance of globalisation and the experience economy (see Chapter Two), which has seen rural areas becoming established as spaces of consumption more closely associated with history and local tradition than agricultural production (Richards and Wilson 2006). An increasingly differentiated countryside means people-themed strategies now centre on ‘cultural markers’ such as ‘food, languages and dialects, crafts, folklore, visual arts, literary references, historical and pre-historical sites, landscapes and associated flora and fauna’ (Ray 1998: 16). This emphasis on culture is seen as an attempt to revalorise place through its cultural identity, which has been defined as the ‘cultural economy’ approach to development (Ray 1998: 16). ‘Culture’, in this context, is a byword for territorial identity and ‘economy’ concerns the relationship between resources, production and consumption (ibid 1998: 15).

Even though culture economy is a useful framework for analysing the use of culture to create economic outcomes, Ray's (1998) concept was devised for a European setting. Ray acknowledges that his ideas were in response to the increasing influence of post-industrial consumerism on the diversification of cultural product design and the phenomenon of regionalism where promotional strategies were being used to preserve local cultural identity and to achieve socio-economic outcomes (ibid 1998). Such factors are becoming more pronounced in the Caribbean, driving the development of a 'culturalist market' in response to tourists' demand for spices, pepper sauces, beers, spirits, autochthonous designed fabrics and artisanal crafts, music, voices and dances (Scher 2010: 8). It means the culture economy mode of development is becoming an increasing feature of rural community-led development in countries such as Jamaica with locals seeking to capitalise on their rich natural heritage and culture to develop their communities by way of tourism. A key component of the culture economy approach is its founding on local knowledge and participation and the involvement of local inhabitants in endogenous development (Ray 2000), which are similar to practices that are being encouraged in Jamaica. Based on the literature review and preliminary field research, it is appropriate to apply aspects of Ray's (1998) framework to the Jamaica context to help make conceptual distinctions and organise ideas.

Building on Ray's concept, Kneafsey, Ilbery and Jenkins (2001) added a consideration of the role of horizontal and vertical networks as a way of avoiding the internal and external dualism in the culture economy. They conceived of horizontal networks as those, which are embedded in particular places, and are characterized by trust, reciprocity and shared understanding of local realities. Vertical networks, on the other hand, are considered as those, which connect particular places to other places, externally located institutions (such as government bodies or commercial organisations) and markets (in other words, consumers from elsewhere). Kneafsey, Ilbery and Jenkins (2001) argued that a successful culture economy would need to combine the development of horizontal and vertical networks.

However, the nature of rural communities such as those in Jamaica in relation to sense of place, identity and the meanings culture holds for local inhabitants mean these culture economy approaches could benefit from additional ideas to help analyse these perspectives. The supplementary concepts are presented in the form of ‘cultural connectedness’ and ‘plurality of commoditisation’ (outlined in greater detail later in the chapter) to better reflect the Jamaican and other similar contexts. Cultural connectedness refers to linkages to people’s intangible and tangible traditions, products and natural environment. These linkages can be seen as ‘horizontal’, which refers to same-level, trust-based relationships and shared experiences and ‘vertical’, which refers to linkages to the past and hierarchical relationships. Cultural connectedness, in this context, augments the ideas of Ray (1998, 2000) and Kneafsey, Ilbery and Jenkins (2001) by extending the notion of endogenous and vertical networks to include the sense of temporal connection or ‘rootedness’ in place, which includes ancestral memories and stories. Horizontal linkages add to ideas of sectorial diversification and reciprocal arrangements by integrating the notion of same-level locally bounded relationships.

Even though Ray’s framework provides an understanding of the contested nature of place identity, the extent to which it acknowledges the interplay of the ‘historic and newer social relations’, which construct place identities, is limited (Kneafsey 2001). The concept of cultural connectedness expands on these complex interconnections involving global and local operations, which contribute to how local history and culture come into being and are reconstructed into resources for economic and social outcomes (ibid 2001). Cultural connectedness helps to explain how people become emotionally attached to certain locations, endowing them with meaning and significance (Holden 2013). The concept illustrates how these connections extend to the past yet underpin contemporary practices and behaviours providing people with their own unique sense of belonging and cultural identity, which they can exploit for economic and social wellbeing.

These concepts are further enhanced by plurality of commoditisation, which refers to the differentiated and diversified ways locals commoditise their culture to meet tourists’ demand for actual interactions and co-creative experiences. Co-create, in this sense,

means involvement in experiences derived from interactions that add value to encounters (Binkhorst 2006: 4 and Jager 2009). Even though, Ray's (1998: 22) culture economy framework is conceptualised around four modes of development, the first three encapsulates the 'development repertoire' - stock of resources or techniques at each area's disposal, while the fourth centres on a range of likely development paths. However, Gibson and Kong (2005: 557) argue that such neat framing of the culture economy could 'erase a lot of the messiness of culture' and restrict potential connections and interchange. Adding the notion of plurality of commoditisation to culture economy guards against this approach and ensures the framework is representative of 'multiple sets of activities and diverse forms of production' that occur in rural community-led development (Gibson and Kong (2005: 557). Moreover, the culture economy concept needs to move beyond an American/European focus so that it becomes more reflective of the unevenness of the global sphere (ibid 2005).

Presenting these additional concepts provide an inclusive theoretical model for analysing ideas in this study. As Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2012: 294) argue, 'without an inclusive conceptualisation, community development faces the risk of becoming too narrow in focus'. Moreover, ignoring the various dimensions of rural communities could result in research, which lack the richness necessary to provide more integrative and powerful insights and community development solutions. The distinctiveness of this conceptual framework is augmenting the culture economy approach with ideas that can illustrate the operation of culture and tourism in rural community-led development strategies. Moreover, they account for the co-creative dimensions, which constitute many tourism experiences. The integrated framework thus conceptualises how rural community resources are recognised and valorised (culture economy), originate and are sustained (cultural connectedness) and the differentiated ways in which they are exploited (plurality of commoditisation). Within this context, this conceptual framework provides an original blueprint for analysing the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities such as those in Jamaica. Culture economy is now discussed in further depth followed by cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation.

3.2 Culture economy

The diminishing influence of agriculture as a source of livelihood in rural Jamaica is leading to an increasing reliance on cultural products, services and activities as income-generation strategies. For it to be successful, the money should go back to locals. The operation is termed the '*cultural economy*' mode of development, which involves putting a value on place in terms of its 'cultural identity' (Ray 2001: 16). Economy, in this context, represents the interrelatedness of 'resources, production and consumption', while culture is paradoxical in the sense that even though it symbolises 'territorial identity', with regard to place attachment and belonging, it is also concerned with '*what* is produced and consumed', as opposed to '*where*' (ibid 2001:16). This is not to say place is not important, as it is, particularly concerning 'everyday lived experiences and relations' (Hall 2007: 1140), but, indigenous cultural identity and products are flexible and embodied irrespective of site of origin (Ray 2001).

Despite this, Pratt (2004) argues that a rural cultural economy focused on production and consumption is weak and too situated. Instead, he believes, it would be much more dynamic if emphasis was placed on how products come into being and are located across 'places and social networks' (ibid 2004: 124). This, he argues, would lead to a greater appreciation of the 'making and shaping of things' throughout their 'life cycle' (ibid 2004: 124). This indicates the influence of horizontal and vertical linkages on the operation of a culture economy can help to create paths to new partnerships at regional, national and international levels and secure business opportunities for rural community tourism enterprises in Jamaica (Hayle 2014). In creating a multifaceted institutional structure for developing tourism in deprived rural communities, Sofield et al. (2004) argue both horizontal and vertical linkages are critical in addressing poverty in terms of attitudes and public policy. The operation of the culture economy thus incorporates dimensions of local culture commoditisation, creation and promotion of territorial identity and the development of a repertoire of cultural products and services (Ray 2001).

In their appraisal of the role of food-networks as strategies in rural development, Kneafsey, Ilbery and Jenkins (2001: 299) identify a ‘successful cultural economy trajectory’ that is both horizontal and vertical (see Figure 3.10). Horizontal networks represent integration of both urban and rural development strategies, while vertical networks refer to activities, which exist ‘beyond rural areas’ (ibid 2001: 299). The linkages are not fixed and vary over time and place and Bai et al. (2008) contend they are significant in constructing partnerships and multi-dimensional strategies in a rural culture economy. Furthermore, horizontal concerns the ‘diverse demands that are currently being made upon rural spaces in terms of sectoral diversification’ and partnerships (Panyik, Costa and Rátz 2011: 1353), while vertical linkages embody a ‘bottom-up’, ‘grass root’ or ‘endogenous’ approach. Moreover, strategies incorporating horizontal and vertical linkages, argues Hayle (2014), can help ensure that local Jamaican tourism products and services are capable of meeting the increasing demand of emerging travel markets, as rural communities undergo transition from an agriculture to a culture economy.

3.2.1 Rural culture economy

As consumers, tourists are interested in the narrative, symbol and representation of the products they buy (Trentmann 2009). These dimensions are placing increasing emphasis on the commoditisation of culture in rural areas. Its diverse populations, history and landscapes, ensures that in the culture sector, Jamaica holds a global ‘comparative, if not competitive advantage in production’ (Nurse and Demas 2005: 1). In southeast Queensland, Australia, the culture economy approach has been the main driving force behind the initiation of the National Country Music Muster, an annual music festival staged in a forest (Edwards 2012: 517). In Germany, where rural cultural development is in its infancy, Drda-Kuhn and Wiegand (2010: 90) found cultural networks play pivotal roles in boosting rural economy. Hispanic and non-Hispanic people in southwestern Colorado, United States of America believe cultural services such as museums, historic sites, festivals and fairs are integral to developing their communities (Besculides, Lee and McCormick 2002). Situated approaches such as ‘integrated rural tourism’ can lay ‘cultural, economic and environmental’ foundations on which to build strategies for

meeting new tourists demands (Saxena et al. 2007). At the same time, Gibson and Connell (2003: 165-166) point out that the meanings attached to commodities have a bearing on where they originate and by way of consumption, influence social groups.

What these various perspectives and actions describe is a 'postmodern landscape saturated with meaning and diversity' (Everett 2009: 340). However, the interpretations and heterogeneous configurations are differentiated by time and place. In developing countries, particularly in rural areas, ideas of modernity and globalisation have become associated with high rates of unemployment, inadequate schooling, disparate family relations, 'breakdown of village structures and traditional authority', addiction to alcohol and drugs, prostitution and crime (Pronk 2009: 449). Jamaica is marked as a tourism hot spot rigidly affixed to the mass-market all-inclusive sector. Ineffective 'intersectoral links' have limited economic expansion and the benefits of tourism to the wider population (Daye, Chambers and Roberts 2008: 3). To break the cycle, hopes have been pinned on small community enterprises, which contribute significantly to rural employment (Fuller et al. 2007). With trends in Jamaica pointing to the diminishing role of agriculture, the influence of the culture economy approach becomes even more pronounced. Satisfying the desires of the new breed of consumers and responding to continuing economic challenges could ensure a repackaged tourism product benefits a wider cross section of people. However, this capitalisation requires a delicate balancing act, particularly, in rural areas.

The culture economy mode of development is evolving in rural Jamaica and is becoming increasingly visible. At the same time, the concept is 'risky' due to the unpredictability in tourists' tastes and fluctuations in demand (Nurse and Demas 2005: 1). Moreover, the small-scale individualised nature of rural culture economies means businesses often fail to meet the requirement of financial lending institutions (ibid 2005). In their attempts to alleviate rural poverty and create job opportunities, local tourism development strategies are moving along the culture economy path. However, the diversity of spatial settings and people's way of life in rural Jamaica mean these take various forms.

3.3 Cultural connectedness

Cultural connectedness refers to linkages to people's intangible and tangible traditions, products and natural environment. It is concerned with ideas of how people relate to, identify or maintain connection with their cultural heritage over time and space. This connectedness or temporal continuity, explain Epstude and Peetz (2012), is a basic trait of humans and the essence of personal identity. It is imbued with the feeling of being connected with the past, present and future. Perceptions and representations of cultural connectedness help group members understand where they come from, how their particular heritage is embodied and preserved and how their deeply-ingrained core cultural elements are not eroded by time, but transmitted from generation to generation (Liu and Hilton 2005, Sani, Bowe and Herrera 2007 and Smeekes and Verkuyten 2014).

Moreover, cultural connectedness provides existential security in that possessing a sense of self, feelings of belonging and wellbeing can equip people to deal with anxieties associated with an uncertain future (Sani, Bowe and Herrera 2007 and Jetten and Wohl 2011). An example of this is ancestor worship that serves to reaffirm and reinforce group sentiments in the past, present and future and the foundation for social solidarity, cohesion and integration (Sani, Bowe and Herrera 2007). Within this context, cultural connectedness is thus posited as a 'resource' that shapes social identity and provides group members with narratives that help define their options when faced with challenges (Jetten and Wohl 2011: 444 and Liu and Hilton 2005).

Ideas of cultural connectedness resonate with Africans, who were imported from the area of their tradition and went about establishing themselves in a new environment, using the available tools and memories of their traditional heritage to construct something new, 'something Caribbean, but something nevertheless recognizably African' (Mintz and Price 1992: xi). Despite the traumatic and destructive experience of separating blacks from Africa disconnecting their sense of history and tradition, it is the nature of the folk culture of the former African slave that still persists in the life of the contemporary folk

and what is being evolved in the Caribbean today (ibid 1992). Moreover, the inherency of their cultural connectedness intertwines with notions of sustainable development, which is about linkages with past, present and future circumstances. As has been discerned, cultural connectedness is linked to identity, which engenders notions of attachment to place (Ginting and Wahid 2015). The distinctiveness of place in either physical or non-physical heritage forms can be an attraction for tourists (ibid 2015). While the idea of continuity associated with heritage, accords with sustainability, so too does its linkages with cultural connectedness. As Park (2014) notes, heritage and culture are multiple constructions of the past continually recreated and presented for contemporary purposes and usage.

With few built structures, the majority of the rural community tourism products in Jamaica are based on intangible cultural heritage. They take the form of storytelling, artefacts, images, symbols, meanings and natural phenomena, which have emerged from a setting, built on forced migration, disparate peoples, resistance, natural wonders and an assortment of beliefs, customs, habits and norms. These are reflective of the island's representations from across the globe particularly those forcibly taken from Africa to work on European-owned plantations as slaves between the periods of 1498 and 1665 (under Spanish rule) and 1670 and 1808 (under British rule) (Buckridge 2004). Others, who came in the 19th Century from India, China, Lebanon, Syria and Germany, were indentured labourers and economic migrants seeking a better life.

Even though some African descendants did succumb to the pressures of the colonialisng forces, others survived by, steadfastly, maintaining aspects of their culture. That the influence of Africa is still visible in Jamaica today is evidence, not only of the survival of heritage, but the sustainability of holding on to facets of one's traditional culture. This continuity or connectedness manifests in numerous ways. This includes the wearing of African attire, which allowed them to 'maintain a vital cultural link with their ancestral homeland and, in the process, to resist the institution of slavery, which denied them basic human rights' (Buckridge 2004: xi). Furthermore, the Africans in Jamaica 'nurtured certain African characteristics and transmitted them to their descendants' (ibid 2004: 17).

These are rooted in folklore, music, language, religion, dress, herbalism, mental and spiritual healing and funeral customs. It is out of these traditions have evolved the innovation and creativity that have shaped the intangible and tangible cultural heritage that exists in Jamaica today (see Figure 3.10). These undergo continuous re-creation in various genres and are exploited for tourism products and livelihood strategies.

3.3.1 Sense of connectedness

A manifestation of ‘Africaness’ visible in Jamaica today is the Pukumania practice of worship (Chevannes 1994: 33-42). The tradition, which involves drumming, chanting and speaking in tongues, is actively maintained in various genres and for different purposes by Maroon descendants, the Rastafari and many rural revivalists’ churches across Jamaica (Campbell 1985). The Charles Town Maroon descendants’ tourist spectacle, for example, revolves around drumming, dancing, reciting West African folklore and speaking Twi, a language widely used in Ghana and other parts of West Africa. The performance is a clear illustration of exploitation of cultural connectedness to Africa for contemporary uses.

Cultural connectedness can thus be framed within the context of Berger and Luckmann’s (1996: 82) contention that cultural contact ‘may be a built-in ‘need’ for cohesion in the psycho-physiological constitution of man’ [sic]. Hill (2006: 210) notes that the worldview of the American Indian ‘emphasises connectedness to the creation/universe’. As a cultural facet, ‘belonging is a component of relatedness and connectedness’ (ibid 2006: 210). A ‘sense of belonging is a dynamic phenomenon of social significance’, asserts Hill (2006: 214), that can help to aid mental health and wellbeing. Saewyc et al’s (2013) search for evidence to support the idea of whether greater cultural connectedness could lower discrimination among indigenous Canadian adolescents, found those who exhibited high levels of cultural connectedness displayed ‘higher self-esteem’ and ‘healthier youth behaviours’. An earlier study, by Poon et al. (2010), which assessed whether cultural connectedness was a protective factor in ‘risk prevention and health promotion for North American youth’, revealed higher cultural connectedness was linked

to lower odds of substance abuse, under age sex and greater odds of higher educational goals and art/club participation. Chandler and Lalonde's (1998: 192) research into suicide among indigenous groups in Canada, revealed 'communities that have taken active steps to preserve and rehabilitate their own cultures are shown to be those in which youth suicide rates are dramatically lower'. This makes it explicit that cultural connectedness is a significant feature in socio-psychological and emotional wellbeing. While research has not yet determined whether it is a preordained human facet, as Berger and Luckmann (1996) surmise, the link with culture is clear.

Cultural connectedness thus applies to 'culturally shared ways of knowing'; can reveal insights into a culture's perspective; offers 'a shared sense of socially constructed meanings' and fulfils a desire to connect to others and, therefore, to be accepted (Hill 2006: 212). This idea of connection extends to tourism, whose key tenet is the pursuit of 'otherness' (Gibson and Connell 2003: 167), people take holidays for the experience, to connect to other cultures. In doing so, they can gain cultural knowledge, insights into another culture's viewpoints and even share how others' meanings are constructed and their significance to those concerned. Kolb (2008: 129) notes, the idea of connectedness relates to the 'established condition', in other words, things that have happened - the past. A high proportion of tourism products reflect connections to past intangible and tangible cultural heritage. As cultural products, they are re-created, re-negotiated and presented as being culturally connected to the present.

3.3.2 Horizontal connectedness

Horizontal connections lie in 'cooperation, continuity, respect, reliability and trust' (Thiele and Marsden 2002: 4). Horizontal connectedness, Pinderhughes (1989: 10) states, is representation of connections to other people who share the 'same ways of thinking and belonging in the world'. Research exploring the 'importance of place and connectedness' reveals horizontal relationships were shaped by interactions between people, peers, goods and information and 'common experiences' (Lalwani and Shavitt 2011 and National Research Council Committee on Geography and Community and

Quality of Life 2002: 71). Moreover, horizontal connectedness can integrate local people and communities by way of relationships based on trust, equality, cultural, social, economic and environmental resources, knowledge and practices.

Horizontal connectedness refers to locally bounded relationships embedded in co-operation and negotiation (Sherwill 2007). The contested nature of communities means horizontal connectedness can be an effective way of improving and maintaining amicable and positive relationships. Furthermore, horizontal connectedness is representative of cultural forms that underpin basic psychological needs such as relatedness, autonomy and competence and human functioning (Chirkov, Ryan and Willness 2005). These are significant factors in aiding wellbeing, internalising cultural traditions and promoting cultural identity (ibid 2005). At the same time, Blouin (2013) warns that cultural isolation can hinder horizontal connectedness and that societies, groups or individuals exhibiting this trait will adapt to their circumstances and environment more quickly.

3.3.3 *Vertical connectedness*

Vertical connectedness relates to hierarchical relationships and a person's linkage to the past. Even though temporal factors, economic, migration and social milieu can alter vertical linkages, maintaining them can provide a source of empowerment, a 'sense of depth, historical belongingness, a feeling of deep-rootedness and sense of a sacred obligation to extend the genealogical line' (Mbiti 1970 cited in Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 9). Even though African descendants in Jamaica ended up subjugated and displaced by their uprooting, they maintained vertical connectedness to their ancestors by way of cultural practices and symbolisms embodied in language, foods, rituals, spirituality, music, values, etc. These provided antidotes to European hegemony and contributed to a 'cultural sense of self', a 'healthy self-esteem' and identity (Pinderhughes 1989: 10). Furthermore, they continue to be of critical importance to local inhabitants, as they reconstruct their past to help develop their communities.

The idea of vertical connectedness is bound up in ‘preconscious recognition or traditionally held patterns’ of conduct, emotion and reasoning (Pinderhughes 1989: 10). Spiritually, MacKinlay (2010: 181) argues, vertical linkage connects to ‘our sense of wellbeing’ in relation to a higher being [or God]’. These dimensions of vertical connectedness are imbued with the psychological, the emotional, the private, the hidden and the self. Although not always expressed, they are highly symbolic and relate to how each individual comprehends and make sense of their existence. They are often rooted in traditional knowledge, which usually transmits vertically, for example, from mother to child (Eyssartier, Ladio and Lozada 2008). Vertical connectedness is more conducive to ‘small-scale traditional societies’, is conservative and hierarchical (Acerbi and Parisi 2006: 1 and Sherwill 2007). This correlates with distinctive cultural groups, whose numbers are few, cultural practices are circumscribed and self-organisation is based on a pecking order. Despite the temporal nature of vertical connectedness, limited dissemination of cultural traditions within groups means only a small number of people have knowledge of them and if or when they leave the group or die, these go too. Such factors can weaken vertical connectedness, lead to unequal power relations and affect the psychological wellbeing of members unless supported by horizontal linkages. Moreover, while conservative and hierarchical tendencies do not necessarily equate to tensions with horizontal more trust-based relationships, they mean cultural transmission is slow compared to horizontal transfers, which are rapidly spread (Hewlett and Cavalli-Sforza 1986).

3.3.4 Tourism connectedness

Notions of horizontal and vertical cultural connectedness illustrate how ideas that unfold into tourism products come into being with locals capitalising on their cultural linkages and local relationships. Debes (2011) contends that tourism is based on people using linkages to the past to define them in the present. ‘Consuming the past (that is, heritage) becomes a bridge to connect and introduce the people and their identity through a transaction with the tourists’ (ibid 2011: 236). Tourists flock to places and communities; ‘historical and mythologized’ sites, which ‘promise a connection’ that might be idealised

or otherwise (Martinez 2012: 545). They manifest in the 'economization' (ibid 2011: 236) of cultural assets such as folk storytelling, traditional entertainment and performances, sale of art and craft, ceremonial vestiges, provision of foods and historical nature trails.

Steiner and Reisinger (2005: 304) argue 'connections among things are the products of history'. They highlight factors like events, discoveries and experiences of people who have existed, which are preserved in 'memories, books, education, socialisations, culture, art, myths, and sense of places' and are passed on as heritage (ibid 2005: 304). Furthermore, there are practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces, which UNESCO has defined as intangible cultural heritage (Lira and Amoeda 2009). 'This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity' (ibid 2009: 3). Exploitation of this cultural heritage is the basis for culture's symbiotic relationship with tourism. McCabe (2009) argues tourism links to personal and social growth, but also with emotional, psychological wellbeing and satisfying the desire to connect to other cultures. A major reason why people go on holiday is to satisfy their socio-psychological wellbeing (ibid 2009). 'People find themselves in their unique place in the world, in a unique situation in relation to the connectedness around them' (Steiner and Reisinger 2005: 307). This connectedness is to culture, as it is 'lived, experienced, shared and exchanged' (Smith and Robinson 2006: 10). It is a process increasingly contested and pluralised in reflection of the 'heterogeneous nature of communities' (Cole 2006: 89) and the varied and differing tastes of tourists. The following section considers the plurality of commoditisation.

3.4 Plurality of commoditisation

Critics argue that when cultural items, rituals and experiences are exchanged as if they are goods, they lose their original meaning or authenticity (Boorstin 1964, Graburn 1967, MacCannell 1973, 1976, Greenwood 1977, Appadurai 1986 and Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez 2010). Tourism is blamed as the commercial instigator for this unequal trade-off with locals accused of being inauthentic, staging their behaviour or acting stereotypically to make themselves more appealing to tourists (MacCannell 1976). However, Wang (1999) argues that the concept of authenticity is ever changing with ideas of history meaning different things to different people. 'Thus, the experience of authenticity is pluralistic, relative to each tourist type who may have their own way of definition, experience, and interpretation of authenticity' (Wang 1999: 355). This multidimensional view means authenticity can be categorised as objective in terms of originality, existential, as in embodied experience and constructive in relation to imagery or expectations (ibid 1999).

A critical emphasis, in this regard, is greater interaction and engagement between tourists and locals as part of a co-creative process, which shapes experience. Experience in this sense, relates to the 'mental state felt by participants during an event or encounter' and is existential in that it is embodied in people, personally felt and can only be experienced by people (Brunner-Sperdin and Peters 2009: 172 and Ritchie and Hudson 2009). Moreover, how experience is discerned is contingent on mental and physical condition, personality, gender, age, etc. (Brunner-Sperdin and Peters 2009). It is argued that experiences are multifaceted, co-created and intertwine with people's social and cultural backgrounds, types of activities in which they are engaged, the social meanings embedded in them and the physical environment (Ritchie and Hudson 2009). This means people can have different reactions to the same event and stimuli in the same setting (ibid 2009: 173).

Increasingly, tourism consumption, purveying and promotion now place a greater emphasis on 'experience' than on 'product' (George 2011: 30). Experience is sold as something for tourists to remember as opposed to the consideration of, simply, buying a product (ibid 2011). Psychological motivation, spiritual development, learning and close relationships coexisting with experience are among other factors (Morgan, Elbe and

Curiel 2009). 'Descriptions of a tourism 'product' are informational only', argues George (2011: 30), 'in contrast, descriptions of the 'experience' are understood to be embodied, or felt through every sense'. Within this context, the idea of experience corresponds with 'encounter', which Gibson (2009: 521) believes is the most 'cherished', 'commodified' and 'essential element' in tourism.

Crouch (2000: 63) and Gibson (2009) argue that like experience, an encounter is produced by interacting or co-creating with 'other people', 'material things', 'imagination' and 'memory' and is immediate and happens in geographical settings. Butcher (2009: 247) argues that such cultural encounters are associated with anthropological notions such as 'acculturation', 'the demonstration effect' and 'staged authenticity'. However, these concepts are no longer homogeneous in an epoch in which 'host and tourists are defined by their differences' (Butcher 2009: 247). The culture commodity has thus become differentiated or pluralised to meet the varied desires and tastes of tourists and in terms of its benefits to locals (Smith and Robinson 2006, Tribe 2009 and Park 2014). Furthermore, the empathetic orientation of the 'New Moral Tourists' (Butcher 2009: 248) and their desire to engage in genuine co-creative experiences and interactions with local people, serves to reconstruct traditional notions of the commoditisation of culture.

3.4.1 Commoditising culture resources

The commoditisation of culture resources and experiences mean they are transformed into commercial entities that can be bought and sold like goods and services. However, the modification is not straightforward, but is complex and multidimensional. This is because there are various conditions, which have to be met and different circumstances that have to be taken into consideration. These include ownership, demand, tastes, classification, place where goods are produced, the people involved in their production, their values, background, etc. The ways in which goods are consumed are also significant, because different people value different goods in different ways and contexts (Dagan and Fisher 2011: 48). Moreover, the same goods or service might hold different

meanings for different people. These considerations also apply to encounters and experiences whether everyday, staged or unique. Chhabra (2011: 480) describes the form of authenticity that attracts tourists to places such as rural Jamaican communities as 'complex, pluralist and is subject to pre-supposed multiple connotations'. Moreover, heritage pertains to 'choices from a vast array of pasts' (ibid 2011: 500). Additionally, globalisation has rendered culture a commodity expanding its diffusion through various formats such as the internet, popular media and international travel.

These various perspectives illustrate the pluralised commoditisation process, which forms part of the framework for analysing the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities such as those in Jamaica. The concept is significant because it adds insights into how locals maintain control and differentiates varying aspects of their cultural resources, how they are offered for consumption and the contribution they make to local development. However, while commoditisation attends to the exchange of goods and services, it does not account for the social factors, which exist in rural communities such as those in Jamaica and which clearly have a bearing on the process. These include power relations, decision-making, gender, age, identity, kinship, ethical concerns, levels of wealth, infrastructure, skills, access to finance, etc. Prinz (2015) argues that even though commoditisation is internally plural, and relationships may have market and nonmarket elements, constituents such as wellbeing and emotional states are not reflected in market exchange value. Appreciation of these different dimensions could enable locals to affirm their identity, tell their own stories, establish the importance of local experience and attachment to place, re-evaluate their history, and bring self-conscious awareness of different aspects of their culture and its value, both to themselves and to visitors (Cole 2007). Moreover, it could stimulate new discussions about the role of culture and tourism in the development of their own communities (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez 2010).

While the plurality of commoditisation concept incorporates, both market and nonmarket elements, it expands on these ideas to establish its own rationale for examining the flexible ways in which rural community inhabitants in Jamaica exploit their culture

resources. In particular, it magnifies the nonmarket dimension to reflect research, which reveals an increasing desire by tourists to capture diverse and ever-changing social experiences in destinations such as Jamaica.

3.4.2 Conceptualising plurality of commoditisation

In conceptualising the plurality of commoditisation, it is argued that local inhabitants differentiate the commoditisation of their culture resources to appeal to varying audiences and tastes. Diversification includes the provision of distinctive local foods, drinks and spices, traditional accommodation, trekking along heritage trails, performances, museum exhibits and social activities. A critical consideration in this regard and tourism's popularity as a development strategy in rural Jamaican communities is visitors' quest for actual encounters, interaction and co-creative experiences with local people and their environment (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). Co-create, in this sense, means involvement in experiences derived from interaction of an 'individual at a specific place and time and within the context of a specific act' (Binkhorst 2006: 4). This form of interaction is seen as a way of adding value to an encounter and the active involvement of the tourist, which can lead to a deeper experience and therefore greater appreciation (Jager 2009). Differentiating experiences in this way can enhance the competitiveness of local communities, increase potential for customised products that appeal to individual desires and interests and boost flexibility in responding to the changing tastes and demands of tourists (Benur and Bramwell 2015).

However, as part of this commoditisation process, Yang, Ryan and Zhang (2015) argue that some communities hold back or demarcate aspects of their culture from tourist. This is seen as a social mechanism whereby entertainment performed for tourists, for example, is differentiated from other forms of rituals used for religious or community purpose (ibid 2015). The advantage of pluralising the commoditisation process in this way is not only financial, but also cultural in that local people are able to retain core traditional practices. Moreover, it illustrates the complexities of the commoditisation of culture and shows that

local people are not entirely ‘powerless’ in the exploitation of their culture resources as ‘often imagined’ (ibid 2015: 17).

In this context, the plurality of commoditisation adds to concepts such as Goffman’s (1959) ‘front region back region’ idea of impression management with performance being the front and rehearsal the back. Goffman’s (1959) notion is contingent on degrees of performance based on multiple layers or stages. These include technical, which relates to ‘efficiency and inefficiency’; political, regarding social actions and controls; structural in line with horizontal and vertical status; cultural pertaining to moral values, fashions, customs, taste and manners and the dramaturgical, as a way of summing and ‘ordering facts’ (ibid 1959). It is argued that comparisons with Goffman’s (1959) concept are misleading, as tourist hosts do not distinguish between front and back regions (MacCannell 1976). However, Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez (2010) contend that reading the commoditisation process as one-dimensional neglects other linked practices such as objectification and appropriation, which relate to the inherent values things hold for the individual, their meaning and the environment in which they are constructed or reconstructed. Moreover, Simpson (2008) argues that communities generally have multiple livelihood objectives, rarely act as a single unified entity, speak with one voice or adhere to homogeneous development or governance structures or relationships.

However, while Goffman’s (1959) concept is a metaphorical proposition, the plurality of commoditisation relates to the differentiated ways and strategies being increasingly used by locals to maintain their cultural traditions, local control and provide actual co-creative experiences for tourists. This reflects the fact that traditional exclusive cultural tourism experiences now hold more ‘inclusive, democratic and experiential interpretations’ (Smith and Robinson 2006: 8). In other words, tourists enjoy actual interactions and co-creative experiences with local people rather than absorb encounters through gazing. They also value engagement with ordinary everyday practices and behaviours. While tourists do spend a lot of time in restaurants, cafes, bars, shops, airports and hotels; significant numbers of them prefer ‘walking around’ and ‘people watching’, ‘observing

and encountering aspects of the host's culture in the form of everyday practices and behaviours' (Smith and Robinson 2006: 8). 'Far from being culture proof, it is particularly these aspects of ordinary life that tourists absorb and on their return home constitute their narratives of memory of experience' (ibid 2006: 8).

These perspectives embody the continual adjustment of representations of tourism, how it is differentiated, commoditised and consumed. Moreover, they demonstrate the shifting taste for tourism products, as opposed to a 'fixed setting of objects or ideas' (Park 2014: 61). Adapting to this new pluralised landscape means locals constantly have to modify their tourism products and experiences. In recognising this and advancing notions of co-creative experiences, this conceptualisation extends Goffman's ideas of front and back regions. While Goffman's concept analyses social interaction in terms of theatrical performances, the plurality of commoditisation framework delineates actual encounters, interaction and engagement between local people and tourists to produce co-creative experiences. As Goffman (1959: xi) notes, 'The stage presents things that are make-believe; presumably life presents things that are real'. 'Tourism is all about real experiences' – 'I swam with dolphins in New Zealand'; 'I built a bridge for a community in India' (Yeoman 2012: 55-60). Moreover, in his evaluation of major developments in the conceptualisation of the tourism experience, Uriely (2005: 200) has argued for a shift from 'homogenizing portrayals of the tourist as a general type to pluralizing depictions that capture the multiplicity of the experience'. As part of this diversification strategy, Benur and Bramwell (2015) believe future research could explore the co-creation process of the tourism experience. The plurality of commoditisation concept thus adds to these considerations by proffering a framework for exploring the multidimensional and co-creative features of culture transformation and consumption.

3.5 Cultural Connectedness Conceptual Map

The Cultural Connectedness Conceptual Map (Figure 3.10) illustrates the integration of different ideas to form an original framework for investigating the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities such as those in Jamaica and elsewhere. The concepts emerge from literature and preliminary field research and represent the various trajectories of the modified culture economy mode of development. The map makes it possible to visualise them and give a sense of their likely operation as an investigative tool.

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Figure 3.10 **Cultural Connectedness Conceptual Map** – adapted from (Kneafsey, Ilbery and Jenkins 2001)

This Cultural Connectedness Conceptual Map illustrates the operation of horizontal and vertical linkages in relation to strength and weakness. As Figure 3.10 shows, strong vertical cultural connectedness refers to temporal linkages, such as ancestral connections and rootedness in place, which have a bearing on thinking, feeling and behaviour. These are emotions and practices, which can be influenced by historical traditions or rootedness in place. They are cultural connections that span time and if maintained or ‘continued’ hold the potential to be sustainable. Weak vertical cultural connectedness can lead to low self-esteem and lack of connection with your reference group. Strong horizontal cultural connectedness describes locally bounded relationships based on trust and mutual respect. These are representative of the interdependent nature of communal or family existence and can aid assimilation into local culture and contribute to local practices being sustained. Weak horizontal cultural connectedness can lead to cultural isolation. The ‘effective cultural linkages trajectory’ strikes a balance between horizontal and vertical cultural connectedness and can lead to successful outcomes such as development of cultural products and pluralising aspects of your culture.

As mentioned earlier, the culture economy approach, though a useful framework for examining the nature, availability and exploitation of rural culture resources, was not designed for locations such as rural communities such as those in Jamaica and elsewhere. The conceptual map thus illustrates its reconstruction by plotting an idealised trajectory of a successful culture economy and plurality of commoditisation. This effectively signals a balance between strong horizontal and strong vertical cultural connectedness. For example, the plurality of commoditisation reflects local attempts to exploit aspects of their culture resources for socio-economic wellbeing and to hold back parts for their own use. Maintaining this balance would not only ensure that local needs are met, but also aspects of their culture is sustained. A successful culture economy is the use of place-based products and services for local socio-economic wellbeing. By encompassing these various perspectives, the modified culture economy framework is more able to conceptualise the Jamaican and other similar contexts. It thus provides a dynamic and fluid tool for investigating the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities such as those in Jamaica and elsewhere.

3.6 Summary

The chapter draws from literature and preliminary field research to set out an original conceptual framework for this study. The framework is underpinned by the culture economy mode of development. However, because the culture economy approach was designed for a European setting it needed modification to better reflect the Jamaican and other similar contexts. This has been done by integrating ideas from the culture economy mode of development with notions from cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation. While the culture economy is a useful framework for examining the nature, availability and exploitation of rural culture resources, the plurality of commoditisation demonstrates that local inhabitants are not passive or are mere bystanders in its capitalisation. The inclusion of the concept in the culture economy framework shows that locals are capable of differentiating their culture to preserve aspects and share other parts with tourists. This includes engaging in co-creative activities with visitors to enhance and add value to their experiences. Moreover, plurality of commoditisation adds to understanding of the processes involved in the transformation of cultural resources into financial benefits for locals and illustrates the mechanisms of local control and management of the commoditisation of local culture. This shows that locals are actively involved in the decision-making and implementation of schemes to benefit from tourism and not just in the outcome (Salazar 2011). Cultural connectedness recognises the significance of historical linkages and how these connections contribute to an understanding of the meanings culture holds for locals in relation to a sense of place and identity. The concept shows how resources come into being and underpins ideas that can lead to the sustainable development of rural communities. By maintaining their traditions over time, locals can sustain their culture resources and preserve their way of life. Moreover, locals can draw from their connections to their past to develop products for tourists' consumption and provide a basis for interacting with each other and their environment.

The culture economy mode of development contributes to knowledge about the influence of culture resources and the revalorisation of rural communities through their cultural identity due to changing consumer tastes, economic development and the distinctiveness inherent in such areas (Richards and Wilson 2006). However, the framework clearly benefits from elements of cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation. Bringing together these various perspectives mean this conceptual framework offers comprehensive coverage of the various dimensions involved in the development of rural communities in Jamaica. Moreover, it adds coherency to disparate ideas relating to culture, identity, sense of place, community and development. The diverse and socially constructed nature of the key themes indicates a qualitative methodology for data production, which are outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY, METHODS AND STUDY SITES

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ENTERPRISE: SETTING OUT THE PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH, METHODOLOGY, METHODS, STUDY SITES, POSITIONALITY AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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Figure 4.11 A traditional fertility doll (Akua'ba) above the entrance to the Safu Yard in Charles Town is said to have derived from the Ashanti Tribe in Ghana, West Africa (Taylor 2011).

4.0 Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodological approach of the study. It draws from the review of literature, which explored notions of culture, tourism and sustainability and their influence on the development of rural communities in Jamaica. The appraisal reveals culture and tourism to be interdependent, inextricably linked and, ultimately, aligned to people outcomes. Embodied in these notions are overlapping features, competing functions and contestations relating to identity, sense of place, community and development, which mean no single interpretation can be held to be representative. These considerations have given rise to a philosophical approach, methodology and methods that guide the collection of data in relation to evaluating the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. The real world setting and human nature of the inquiry (Guba and Lincoln 1989) suggests it is most suited to constructivist paradigm, relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, ethnographic methodology and qualitative methods (see Table 4.6, which guides the study). The research focus is, therefore, not only on who, why, what, where, when and how, but also on meanings, human action, situatedness, interactions, emotions and behaviour.

The chapter begins with an outline of the philosophical foundations followed by analysis of the methodology, methods, positionality, data analysis process and ethical considerations.

Information in Table 4.6 details the methodological schedule, which guides the study and links the concepts, theoretical approach, related literature and fieldwork action.

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Table 4.6 Methodological schedule adapted from (Schwandt 2001, Fetterman 1989, and Guba and Lincoln 1989)

4.1 Constructivist paradigm

The methodological schedule (see Table 4.6) links the concepts, theoretical models, evidenced from review of literature and fieldwork action. This is to ensure they align to the study's aim and objectives and that data production is focused and relevant. Maintaining a single thread helps to limit, the 'messy' process of social science research even though one set of methods cannot bring total insight (Phillimore and Goodson 2004: 34). Moreover, the highly subjective nature of this type of study means the researcher has to account for their own subjectivity, ethics, values and politics by using varied and relevant interrelated 'interpretive methods' to increase insight of the research problem (ibid 2004: 34). This entails guidance by a 'basic set of beliefs', a paradigm or 'a set of assumptions', which explain the researcher's 'worldview' and directs their activities (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 80). A researcher satisfying three questions can establish their research paradigm (Guba and Lincoln 1989, Phillimore and Goodson 2004 and Rakic 2010). These are:

- Ontology: what is the nature of reality and what is there to know about it?
- Epistemology: what is the relationship between the researcher and the respondent regarding truth, belief and justification and how can we know?
- Methodology: how can the researcher establish what they think can be known? (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 83, Phillimore and Goodson 2004 and Rakic 2010).

Essentially, a paradigm (see Table 4.6) frames the parameters of a research study. Guba and Lincoln (1989: 66) argue a researcher cannot maintain a detached stance from participants and that it would be 'absurd' to 'step outside his or her humanness', abandoning their own 'values, experiences and constructions'. Humans construct knowledge by way of interactions, thus the constructivist paradigm is the 'best fit' for a human inquiry with the researcher playing a central role ensuring their voices and those of participants are included in the process (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 66-82 and Rakic 2010: 131). The premise is that there are multiple realities originating in people's minds and instead of explaining that an independent social reality exists, the researcher constructs and interprets their version of that reality (Guba and Lincoln 1989, Hillyard

2007 and Rakic 2010). It is a process shaped by history and socio-cultural characteristics and helps to enhance understanding of how participants conceive ideas, patterns and strategies to make sense of their experiences (Schwandt 2001).

4.2 Relativist ontology

Ontology (see Table 4.6) is the metaphysical analysis of reality and the nature of being; ‘what it means for something to exist’ (Schwandt 2001: 157 and Jacquette 2002: 291). In other words, a person cannot understand something unless they have an accurate account of what it is they are trying to comprehend (Dreyfus 1991). Ontology, a collection of general theoretical beliefs about the way things are, is crucial in situating a research study. In the same way epistemology addresses philosophical arguments surrounding knowledge, truth and value, ontology underpins people’s judgements and activities and how they behave within cultures and organisations (Somekh 2011). This suggests ideas relating to ‘being, meaning and identity’ have to be taken into account when trying to gain understanding of the ‘the real cultural world’ of participants (Hollinshead 2004: 63). Relativist ontology (see Table 4.6) is thus appropriate for a diverse study such as this, which seeks to investigate meanings culture holds for rural inhabitants in relation to identity, sense of place and community development. Relativist ontology assumes that reality as we know it is constructed intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially.

4.2.1 Being of tourism

Pernecky (2010: 7), in reference to Heidegger’s radical ontological concept of ‘being-in-the-world’, proposed the idea of ‘being of tourism’. His submission is that tourism, as an interrelated activity, is a connector of ‘things, people, places, and circumstances’ imbued with ‘meaning and significance’ that constructs ‘our daily life’ (ibid 2010: 7). ‘Our seeing of something that appears meaningful in/to tourism is determined by our situated,

cultured, everyday being-in-the-world' (ibid 2010: 7). In conceiving 'being of tourism' as an ontological position (see Table 4.6) for interpreting the 'emic', cultural and 'multitude of meanings' represented by the activity, Pernecky's (2010: 1-11) position is relativistic, although he does not, directly, state this. However, from the heterogeneous 'perspective' of this study, relativist ontology, within the context that 'whatever is true is relatively true' (Hales 2006: 98), is being proposed as a theoretical standpoint. The rationale been that among the rural Jamaican inhabitants concerned with this study, there appear to 'exist multiple, socially constructed realities ungoverned by natural laws, casual or otherwise' (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 86). In other words, people hold varying views about their circumstances, sense of place, identity and the world around them (Hollinshead 2004: 72). The discussion next considers how these concepts relate to a subjectivist epistemology.

4.3 Subjectivist epistemology

Obtaining knowledge of social life and what should constitute it is the fundamental problem of the social sciences (Lazar 1998). At the heart is the question of belief or justification (see Table 4.6) about what we actually know, 'what we can know' or 'mistakenly think we know'. Knowledge is 'intrinsically *social*' (Fuller 2007: viii) and the exercise of 'social science is to grasp *meanings* and complexes of *meanings*' (Lazar 1998: 8). Essentially, subjectivist epistemology assumes that we cannot separate ourselves from what we know. The investigator and the object of the investigation are linked to the extent that who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand ourselves, others and the world (ibid 1998).

Within the context of this study, rural knowledge intertwines with the idea of sustainable development and the countryside, which is the bedrock of natural resources (Tovey and Bruckmeier 2009). Having 'gained new economic significance in the post-industrial and post-agricultural phase of development', rural areas could possibly pave the way for

sustainable changes in society (ibid 2009: 5). This relates to ideas of a rural culture economy in terms of new forms of food production, small-scale food processing, novel rural tourism initiatives and imaginative ways of managing non-agriculture rural economy, complex natural resources, ecosystems and landscapes (ibid 2009). These observations are an indication of how the environment is interdependent on local knowledge and ways of life. Furthermore, they relate to people's interactions with their surroundings, their attempts to shape their environment and how they cope with the natural elements they face daily. Knowledge of local culture emerges through the investigation of these processes.

For rural Jamaicans, this epistemology encapsulates indigenous knowledge. While backwardness is associated with rurality in Jamaica, there is no meaningful recognition in the West of indigenous knowledge, which is seen as a form of 'ethnoscience' (Semali and Kincheloe 1999: 38). At the same time as affixing cultural brackets to indigenous knowledge, western science wanders as 'transcultural and universal' (ibid 1999: 38). 'Thus in the process of ascribing worth to indigenous knowledge, such analysis implicitly relegates it to a lower order of knowledge production' (ibid 1999: 38). Seen as having nothing meaningful to contribute, the voices of rural people face exclusion.

4.4 Philosophical approach summary

The philosophical gaze of the constructivist necessitates that scrutiny is conducted in a 'natural setting', concomitant of relativist ontology, where the researcher can capture the 'multiple realities' being constructed by the people under investigation (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 174-175). The idea is that only local inhabitants can give a relative account of their experiences of life in their community. In recognition of this, constructivists enter the field as 'learners', not 'pre-programmed', but relying on the 'sensitive' 'human instrument', as an adaptable research tool to collect information and on 'tacit knowledge', common sense, to explore what is worth investigating (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 175 and

Hollinshead 2004: 72). This theoretical approach (see Table 4.6) relates directly to the study undertaken in the natural setting of rural Jamaican communities. In this context, and as discerned by relativist ontology, ‘a number of alternative worldviews inevitably hold true among different groups and within different settings’ (ibid 2004: 72). In relation to ‘time/context’ frame, the intention was to immerse in the milieu with rural Jamaicans to capture their perspectives, ‘not claiming to know preordinately what is salient’ (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 175), or as Hollinshead (2004: 69) argues, ‘adopt a ‘stranger position’ within that involved population in order *to make the familiar strange*’. As reliance on tacit knowledge suggests, the researcher does not enter the field ‘tabula rasa’, and while prior knowledge can be explained (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 176). It is these philosophical considerations, which underpin the following discussion of the ethnographic enterprise

4.5 Framing the ethnographic enterprise

The work of anthropologist Bronislaw K. Malinowski and Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown during 1900-1950 (Denzin 2010: 13) laid the foundations for ethnography. It was only through directly observing ‘social facts’ like ‘customs, rituals, ceremonies’ that the ‘laws’ that govern a society’, argued Radcliffe-Brown, could be uncovered, while Malinowski insisted that the objective of ethnography was to ‘grasp the native’s point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world’ (Gobo 2011: 18). It was this view from ‘within’ standpoint that helped crystallised the emic perspective over the etic to gain meaningful insights into the culture being studied (ibid 2011: 18).

An ethnographic approach was selected (see Table 4.6), however, the process was enhanced, empirically by way of preliminary fieldwork in rural Jamaica. This meant exploring the significance of culture resources to rural inhabitants and the extent to which they capitalised on their intangible and tangible assets in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism. To achieve this, required being cognisant of how local people interpreted their actions, identity, sense of place, evolution of their community, customs

and values, as they went about their daily lives; because it was in these occurrences or ‘webs of significance’ that culture lurked, where meanings resided (Geertz 1973: 5). Crucially, investigating ideas of culture is, ‘therefore not an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretive one in search of meaning’ (ibid 1973: 5).

The study began with an ethnographic exploration, which in one sense was about, ‘establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary’ and, ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973: 5). This meant ‘recording the circumstances, meanings, intentions, strategies and motivations’ that describes a particular occurrence of social action (Schwandt 2001: 255). ‘Thick, rich description provides the foundation for qualitative analysis and reporting’ (Patton 2002: 437). Essentially, by being on the ground immersing in the milieu of local people, the researcher was more able to describe the ordinary activities that shape rural Jamaican individual and group life, conduct and culture.

4.5.1 *Writing ethnography*

One of the ways of gauging research is through ‘the aesthetics of its narrative, the theater, poetry, or other performance’ (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 204). Similarly, Denzin (2010: 87) speaks of the ‘literary frame’ that should encompass research ‘as a performance text, short story, a poem or an ethnodrama’. The essence of these declarations underlines the basis for thick description or ‘ethnography’, a ‘written representation of a culture (or selected aspects of a culture)’ (Geertz 1973: 9 and van Maanen 1988: 1). ‘Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representations’ (van Maanen 1988: 3). As such, the ethnographer ‘inscribes’ social discourse; ‘*he writes it down*’ (Geertz 1973: 9-10). Crucially then, the role of the ethnographer is to record what is said and what is observed in the field. Inscriptions thus form the basis for determining interpretations and presentation of occurrences in the field. They ‘are read for what they do (which is always more than intended), for what they marginalize and displace and put into motion’ (Clifford and Marcus 1986: ix). Perhaps,

this is why Alasuutari (1995: 177) insists that writing is the most significant aspect of a study, because ‘when all is said and done, the world is left with nothing else but the text’.

The significance of ethnographic text means that the overriding challenge of the genre is to convey the ‘social reality’ that has been captured in the field so that it can convince and connect audiences and initiate new lines of analysis (Clifford and Marcus 1986 and van Maanen 1988: xiii;). Ethnography thus captures the mundane or everydayness of social life, unlike journalism, which partials the unusual (Werner and Schoepfle 1987). Ethnographies construct and reconstruct social reality accounting for context, rhetoric, tradition, generalities, politics and history (Clifford and Marcus 1986). ‘Ethnographies are portraits of diversity in an increasingly homogenous world’ and provide the crucial link between fieldwork and culture (van Maanen 1988: xvii and van Maanen 1988). With the researcher as the main research instrument, ethnographies are subjective and ‘inherently *partial* - committed and incomplete’ (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 7). This is because they are ‘experientially driven’ (van Maanen 1988: 4) and shaped, as much, by the researcher’s background and worldviews, as they are by the conditions in which they materialise.

The intention of this ethnographic enterprise is to give voice to rural inhabitants using detailed accounts to allow their version of events and explanations to come through. This involves inscriptions in their own dialect so that the reader can engage with the language, which is transmitting the culture of those under study and for them to understand how locals express the meanings culture holds for them in relation to their own existence and community life. Recording the interjection of local dialect during discussions in Standard English emphasises to the reader the significance with which certain concerns are held. The objective is to try to uncover as fulsomely as possible ‘what was being said in what was said’ (Foucault 1994: 30). The accounts of locals and reflective field journal entries augment the iterative process representing the setting, specificity of occurrences, ambience and conditions (ibid 1994). Revealing the imagery of the cultural milieu in this way creates for the reader a feeling of being there.

4.6 Rationale for data production

The first phase of the study was a ‘dry run’ (Silverman 2000: 50) that aided orientation and allowed testing of the feasibility and suitability of the most appropriate sites that would produce data to satisfy the research question: ‘What is the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica?’ The first phase appraisal led to new lines of inquiry and ruled out ineffective ones (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 57 and Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Moreover, it enabled first-hand observation, the opportunity to conduct interviews, make contacts, socialise and interact with locals in their own setting. The time spent in rural Jamaican communities, offered real insight and a ‘meaningful’ experience of everyday social life (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 455). This process of witnessing people’s conduct, expressions and interactions in their natural social settings and learning how those involved saw their own actions, directly influenced the methodology adopted for the second phase of the study.

4.6.1 *Selecting the study sites* (see Figure 4.12)

The selection of a site for data production is ‘fundamental to the entire study’ (Rossman and Rallis 1998: 86). In examining the literature, a gap appeared, which revealed the significance of culture and tourism in attempts to sustainably develop rural communities in Jamaica. Initially, five rural community tourism projects across the island were recognised as having the potential to generate a deeper understanding of the meanings culture holds for locals in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development. The projects also offered the possibility of determining the extent to which locals capitalised on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism. Moreover, they appeared suitable to act as test cases that might yield results, which would benefit local inhabitants and policymakers in relation to the mobilisation of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities generally.

The five projects were Seaford Town German Heritage Tour, Westmoreland; Charles Town Maroon Project, Portland; Ambassabeth Cabins and Nature Trails, Portland; Rastafari Indigenous Village, St James and Mystic Mocho Experience, Clarendon. The projects were on a list produced by JSIF (2009) as examples of fledgling rural community tourism enterprises seeking financial and development support. They also featured on internet sites relating to culture and tourism initiatives in Jamaica and on the websites of the Jamaica Gleaner and Jamaica Observer, two of the main newspapers on the island. Their inclusion on the JSIF list and on websites led to the assumption that they were of significance and, therefore, warranted further investigation. Featured on the JSIF list made them particularly worthy of attention, as the organisation was the government agency charged with providing social and economic infrastructure support to deficient communities in Jamaica.

The JSIF list was useful in that it helped to account for the number of organisations, which were actively engaged in rural community development or proposed to be. Information on each group included nature of project, structure, status, community connection, plans, difficulties and identification of human, financial and organisational resources and needs. Further details comprised assessment of detrimental constraints, environmental and development issues, effectiveness of marketing and management tactics and recommendations of achievable goals (JSIF 2009). A sixth project, Beeston Spring District in Westmoreland was not on the JSIF list, but was featured in local newspaper reports after being awarded first place in the National Better Environments for Social Transformation Community Competition for 2010 and put forward by JSIF as a community that was seeking to develop a rural community tourism enterprise programme.

4.6.2 Gaining access to the projects

Figure 4.12 Map of Jamaica showing preliminary study sites

Financial considerations are an important factor in the research process (Marshall and Rossman 2006) and this was the critical factor in the omission of two of the projects from the preliminary study list. The groups were Rastafari Indigenous Village and Mystic Mocho Experience. Rastafari Indigenous Village established in 1998 as a registered company, is located in the lush Montego River Gardens in Portobello, St James. Its attractions are based on nature and culture relating to Rastafari way of life, cuisine and history. When contacted, the company indicated a cost of ‘at least £100’ to spend a day in the village, tour the facilities and get the ‘insider’s perspective’ of the operation. Even though the company argued the charge was not ‘unreasonable’ and visitors, who had spent the day in the village, were happy to make such a contribution ‘with no issues’, it was deemed out of the range of the university’s research budget. The planned preliminary study stay at the village would have been over two days, which would have meant a cost of at least £200, exclusive of accommodation and subsistence. The contact at the village indicated the availability of a bed, away from the complex, at US\$22 per night. The official was not prepared to make any concessions, as they felt that people like this researcher took ‘too much advantage’ of fledgling community projects such as Rastafari Indigenous Village, solely, to further their own ends. “Rastafari is a pretty closed movement, as you are probably aware, and their involvement with tourism has been a

carefully managed journey,” added the official.

The Mystic Mocho Experience is a community project, set up in 2006 and highlighted the cuisine and cultural traditions within their area by way of a nature heritage trail. The tour was reputed to encompass displays of handcrafts, food festivals and the demonstration of traditional local dances. When contacted, the organization indicated a charge of £200 for a two-day stay with the group. The money would cover tours, meals and accommodation. Again, this cost was too exorbitant and the Mystic Mocho Experience was excluded on this basis. Initial investigations suggested that both Rastafari Indigenous Village and the Mystic Mocho Experience were fecund for data so it came as a disappointment that they had to be ruled out based on costs. However, gaining access to research sites ‘looms large in ethnography’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 41) whatever the issues may be. Interpreting the indication of the contact at Rastafari Indigenous Village suggests a strong sense of weariness about the benefits projects such as theirs received from being involved in this type of study. Neither group conveyed any reluctance or reasons for being the subject of an inquiry, but it appeared the path had trodden been many times before for little reward. The feeling was they wanted compensating to go out of their way to accommodate a researcher, who, perhaps, demanded more than ordinary guests would. This was understandable, but with a limited budget to work with, it was not possible to meet their demand so there was an investigation of other sites to determine their suitability for data production and costs.

The other projects, earmarked for the first phase of the study, each suggested a flat rate charge of \$US 50 (£33 in 2011) per night for accommodation. At Ambassabeth Cabins and Nature Trails there was a set charge of £27 per person to go on the guided heritage trail, in addition to a ‘user’s fee’ of £3.80; breakfast £3.60; lunch £3.80 and evening meal £4.50. There was no set charge for the tour of Beeston Spring, although a fee of around £38 was mentioned. The £33 per night charge at Charles Town included breakfast. The obstacles encountered in selecting the research sites helped in anticipating likely difficulties that might be faced once in the field.

4.6.3 *Preliminary sites*

Beeston Spring District is located in southeast Westmoreland, approximately 40km from Savanna-la-mar, the parish capital and is home to 1,989 people (Social Development Commission (SDC) 2011). The area is divided into seven sub-districts: Packie Tree, Bottom Ground, Shady Grove, Coffee Gully, Silent Lane, Thatch Valley and Left Hall. The landscape is predominantly hilly characterised by lush green vegetation, ponds and springs. Inhabitants are mainly farmers in the middle to lower income social and economic categories. Beeston Spring is part of the Whitehouse Development Area, which includes the districts of Whitehouse, Mearnsville, Petersville, Bluefields, Cave, Kilmarnock Bog and New Works.

The name Beeston Spring derives from former Jamaica Governor William Beeston, who owned the estate on which is a fresh water spring. In 1860, the Salem Moravian Church established in Beeston Spring and is still in use today. The spectacular landmark is visible from as far as the Sandals Whitehouse Resorts, some 11km away. Locals claim the community gave birth to Jamaican Christian revivalism. Other significant landmarks in Beeston Spring include a 100-year-old Georgian-designed teacher's cottage where the island's former Governor General, Sir Howard Cooke lived for periods of his youth.

In 2002, Beeston Spring outlined a rural community tourism programme with plans to transform the teacher's cottage into a museum and herbal centre. The Moravian church would form the centerpiece of a community tour and there are plans for a park and garden on the site of the spring and at Left Hall. Wesley Park, a popular cricket ground, was earmarked for a retirement retreat, guesthouse and a farm. The Three Lane Coffee Gully Road would see a rest stop, fruit stalls, a wayside garden and a sporting complex and Silent Lane would be developed for farm tours and a working sugar mill. The community has established strong links with the Sandals Foundation, which has helped with the development of an organic farming programme. The farm has supplied the nearby Sandals Whitehouse All-inclusive Resorts in the past. Beeston Spring also collaborates with other outside agencies and volunteers to improve farming techniques, roads, garbage

disposal and education and youth employment opportunities. The community is home to a number of cultural relics in the form of a 'Great House', former plantation owner's mansion at Left Hall, remains of stone walls, three-foot cast iron pots, copper cans and mento music band, the Mighty Beestons.

Seaford Town is located in northeast Westmoreland, about 42km from Savanna-la-mar and 54km from Montego Bay, the island's main tourism hub, and has a population of 666 people (SDC 2010a). Landowner Lord Seaford, who gave his name to the town, donated the 500-acre plot in the early 1830s. It is a predominantly farming community encircled by the districts of Amity and Lambs River to the north, Dundee to the south, Belvedere to the west and St Leonards and the parish of St Elizabeth to the east (ibid 2010a). Seaford Town is one of a dozen communities that make-up the Bethel Town Node, which is part of the Darliston Development Area (ibid 2010a).

Seaford Town is, principally, known for its German inhabitants, who first settled there in 1835. The town's tourism enterprise is based on a museum housing various artefacts that depicts the history of the German descendants and their cultural heritage. There are an estimated 50 people of full German descent still living in the town. However, at different times of the year, relatives and former inhabitants, who return from abroad on holidays or for special occasions, boost their numbers. Many of those of full German descent, known locally as 'Germaicans', are the fifth and sixth generations of the estimated 250 who arrived from Bremen in northern Germany in 1835. They left Europe to seek their fortune in Jamaica only to encounter hardship and toil. Original German architecture and cuisine are very much features of the town.

Ambassabeth Cabins Nature Trails is an eco-tourism project located in the buffer zone of the Blue and John Crow Mountain National Park in the Rio Grande Valley, Portland and has been in operation since 1995. Linette Wilkes, who manages the project in conjunction with the Bowden Pen Farmers' Association, owns the land on which the cabins are sited. The facility includes four cabins and offer traditional locally produced Jamaican cuisine. The cabins are surrounded by spectacular scenery with the highlight a

nature tour of Maroon heritage, which takes in the proposed UNESCO Heritage Trail of the Cunha Cunha Pass, Corn Puss Gap, Quaco Falls, and White River. As well as the trails, visitors can interact with nature, enjoy cultural exhibitions, farm excursions, river bathing and horse riding. The location of Ambassabeth Cabins is extremely remote with the nearest community some 8km away. Getting there is very weather dependent. In 1998, when Hurricane Dean destroyed a bridge on the only road that vehicles can use to get to the site, it took nine months to repair. This had a catastrophic effect on visitor numbers (JSIF 2009). The previous year, some 350 people had visited the cabins, and although numbers picked up in 2009, they were nowhere near the 2007 figure.

Charles Town is a Maroon enclave in the foothills of the Blue Mountains range in the eastern parish of Portland. The population is 740 and agriculture is the mainstay (SDC 2010b). Charles Town is one of nine communities in the Buff Bay Development Area and one of four recognised existing settlements of Maroon descendants in Jamaica. The town is steeped in history and is the site of the famous Quao victory over the British Redcoats in 1739. The defeat led to the signing of a peace treaty between the British and the Windward Maroons some 272 years ago. As well as their fighting skills, Maroons are renowned for their resourcefulness in living off their natural environment. However, faced with high rates of unemployment, the Charles Town Maroon Council initiated a range of programmes aimed at exploiting their intangible and tangible cultural heritage by way of tourism and agriculture. Initiatives include beekeeping, nature and cultural heritage trails, story telling, rituals, music, drumming and dancing, spirituality, cuisine and a museum tour featuring artefacts from the surrounding Maroon villages of Scotts Hall and Moore Town. The Maroon descendants are a cultural entity, which tour nationally and internationally displaying their way of life. Their annual Quao Day celebration and convention on 23rd June each year attracts visitors from around the world. In June 2012, the community secured J\$18 million from JSIF to refurbish the Charles Town Maroon Museum, Safu Yard and build new bathroom facilities.

4.6.4 Main data production sites

Charles Town and Seaford Town emerged as the preferred sites for detailed data production, because of their greater use of culture and tourism, as community development strategies. Both communities are rich in cultural resources forged out of challenging historical circumstances. Culture in the two communities is in intangible form such as traditional dancing, music, ancestral identity, spirituality, rituals and tastes and tangible in relation to traditional cuisine, cooking, artefacts and architecture. These cultural goods have been accumulated over a significant period and in attempting to tap into new sources of livelihood, members of both communities are seeking to exploit these assets.

A rapid rural appraisal that involved spending two days and nights in each community conducting exploratory interviews, observing, interacting and socialising with locals, revealed all four communities faced a myriad of social and economic problems that needed urgent attention. However, due to the limited time, it was difficult to gain an in-depth understanding of the underlying causes or how these situations came to be. Gleaned, however, was the desire to exploit their intangible and tangible culture by way of tourism to improve their social and economic condition in a manner that was sustainable. This was particularly emphasised in Charles Town where capitalising on culture and tourism was one of the stated goals of the Maroon Council. In Seaford Town, there were plans to expand the German heritage museum to increase visitor numbers.

Ambassabeth is, indeed, a spectacular eco-tourism retreat, but it is more of a privately owned facility than a community site of group life. The nearest community is some 8km away; it is completely off the beaten track. Locals were only there when guests were present. Beeston Spring has no real focal point for visitors at this stage, whereas, both Charles Town and Seaford Town have museums, which showcased local people's culture and artefacts. Furthermore, the focus on culture and tourism in Charles Town and Seaford Town meant these sites were more in line with producing the data that will address the research question of, 'what is the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica? With time and financial constraints critical factors in the study, it made sense that the selected sites were 'naturally occurring'

and fertile in data to meet the research question (Walsh 1998: 224). The purposeful nature of the pilot study proved invaluable in determining Charles Town and Seaford Town as the most suitable sites for more detailed data production.

4.6.5 *The case of Charles Town: a town is born*

‘Fugitives whose spirit could not be broken’ (Robinson 1993).

Today’s Charles Town Maroon descendants recall ‘Old Crawford Town’ with such fondness it was as if it existed only yesterday. Despite the fact that Crawford Town dates back more than 270 years, descendants of Maroons, who inhabited the town speak longingly of their predecessor’s autonomy, tax-free existence, hunting wild hogs and living off the land. The picture of the town did not fit the one painted in the history books, but time engenders romantic notions of the fanciful and the realistic. However, quixotic tales of Old Crawford Town may be more contrasting to the hardships of life in Charles Town today than the actualities of some glorious past. Crawford Town, if anything, is perhaps symbolic of the taming of the Windward Maroons, as a band of feared freedom fighters, who had outmatched the British Redcoats time after time.

While historical details on Crawford Town are fragmented, it is clear that it became a recognised Maroon settlement following the signing of the infamous peace treaty between the British and the Windward Maroons on 23rd June 1739 (Robinson 1993 and Sherlock and Bennett 1998). The declaration brought to an end the long-drawn out First Maroon War and led to a ‘fundamental disagreement’ between Nanny, the spiritual Maroon Queen and Captain Quao, leader of the Windward Maroons, who signed the treaty on his people’s behalf (Robinson 1993: 119). Nanny, described as the ‘old obeah woman’ by the English soldier, Lieutenant Philip Thicknesse, who initially opposed the treaty, but consented when the British approached the Windward Maroons (ibid 1993: 118). In the wake of the fallout, Nanny and her followers went to what is now Moore Town and Quao and his acolytes settled at Crawford Town in the former parish of St George, now Portland (ibid 1993).

Crawford Town was not named after Captain Quao, but Ned Crawford, a British ‘headman’, one of who had been assigned to live in each Maroon community under the terms of the peace treaty (Robinson 1993). It was an arrangement - coupled with restrictions on hunting and farming – which led to resentment and in 1754, pent-up anger erupted into brute violence (ibid1993). Crawford Town’s headman and his British superintendents were hacked to death (ibid 1993). Chaos ensued and some of the Maroons fled to Scott’s Hall, while others settled three miles to the south of the vicinity on land designated by Admiral Charles Knowles, then Governor of St George (ibid 1993). The 206 acres, acquired for the Maroons, became Charles Town (ibid 1993).

4.6.6 Charles Town today

Charles Town today would be like any other rural community in Jamaica if it were not for the presence of the Maroon descendants. It is rhetoric the leader of the Charles Town Maroon descendants, usually directs at those who question the significance of the people to the community. He is quick to point out that Charles Town came into being as a Maroon settlement. However, from being a ‘moribund’ Maroon community, at the foothills of the Blue Mountains, the town is now thriving as a Maroon enclave attracting thousands of visitors a year (McFadden 2012). The community has advanced, in some cases, ahead of the island’s other more established settlements of Maroon descendants at Accompong in St Elizabeth, Moore Town in Portland and Scott’s Hall in St Mary. Charles Town’s elevation has been pinned to the commoditisation of the Maroons’ unique culture for tourists’ consumption. The move is a bid by community elders to combat persistent poverty and unemployment of more than 50 per cent, particularly among the youths (SDC 2010b).

4.6.7 Charles Town’s geography and demographics

Charles Town sits at the foot of the Blue Mountains in the Buff Bay Valley area of western Portland. With the spectacular mountain range as its backdrop, the community hemmed in by perhaps one of the transcendent vistas in the Caribbean. Much of the

surrounding lush vegetation is endemic to Jamaica. The community is just over four kilometres from Buff Bay, a traditional fishing village. Its geographical coordinates are: 18° 13' 0" North, 76° 40' 0" West. The main highway that links Kingston, which is approximately 25km away from Charles Town and other areas to Portland, routed through nearby Buff Bay. Port Antonio, the parish capital, is some 22Km away from the Maroon community. The main road, which connects to the national highway at Buff Bay and runs through Charles Town, is one of the primary routes to the Blue Mountains. Charles Town, served by the Buff Bay Valley River, is made up of tributaries from the Blue Mountains. The river meanders along the edge of the community on its way to the nearby Caribbean Sea at Buff Bay.

Charles Town has an estimated population of 740 (57 per cent females and 43 per cent males) (SDC 2010b). The town comes under the Buff Bay Development Area and divides into five sub-districts: Red Hills, Plum Valley, Cotton Tree, Charles Town Proper and Rose Hill (ibid 2010b). Of these, Charles Town Proper is the most densely populated with 94 houses (ibid 2010b). The area has a sports field, the Maroon museum and Safu Yard, Maroon cemetery and non-Maroon cemetery, a church, a foundation school and a factory, which manufactures concrete blocks (ibid 2010b). In total, there are 244 houses (47 per cent concrete and 37 per cent wooden structures) in Charles Town (ibid 2010b). They are mostly 1-3 rooms. Some 57.7 per cent of properties have pit latrines compared with the national average of 34.4 per cent (ibid 2010b). An estimated 60 per cent of households are owner-occupied (ibid 2010b).

Nearly half the population in Charles Town is under 34 with the majority (88.2 per cent) educated up to secondary school level (ibid 2010b). Less than three per cent have attended college or university (ibid 2010b). There are no health facilities in the community with the nearest being 20km (Annotto Bay, St Mary) or 38km (Port Antonio) (ibid 2010b). Most people (38 per cent) get drinking water from the Buff Bay Valley River and for 90 per cent of homes electricity is the main energy source and liquid petroleum gas (81 per cent) the primary cooking fuel (ibid 2010b). Waste disposal is the main environmental issue in the community with 52 per cent of householders burning

their rubbish (ibid 2010b). The area is particularly prone to flooding and landslides (ibid 2010b). Some 70 per cent of land in Charles Town is for subsistence farming primarily crops such as plantains, bananas, cocoa, breadfruit, coffee, etc. (ibid 2010b).

The workforce the community includes farmers, carpenters, labourers, security workers, teachers, dressmakers/tailors, masons, hairdressers and cooks. The crime rate in Charles Town is very low although there are incidents of theft of animals (ibid 2010b). Sixty per cent of the population, considered 'less fortunate', are unable to provide three meals a day, lunch money for their children, or are unemployed. Thirty five per cent are more 'fortunate', i.e. can find three meals daily, employed, etc. Five per cent are 'most fortunate', i.e. own a car, have children at university abroad, holiday internationally at least twice a year, etc. (ibid 2010b) The majority of the unemployed (80 per cent) are 14-29 (ibid 2010b).

The main community groups are Charles Town Community Development Committee, Charles Town Maroon Council, Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA) and SDC (ibid 2010b). Major concerns are unemployment, need for a multi-purpose community centre including craft workshop, agro-processing plant and a music-recording studio (ibid 2010b).

Charles Town's main economic resource is its rich Maroon cultural heritage, diverse skills and its location along the main route to the Blue Mountains, which is used daily by tourists (ibid 2010b).

4.6.8 The case of Seaford Town: a town is born

The Western Liberation Uprising of 1832 (Sherlock and Bennett 1998) paved the way for a German settlement in Seaford Town. The rebellion, led by church minister Sam Sharpe, saw slave owners' property set on fire when emancipation protests erupted into violence (ibid 1998). The African descendants had demanded their right to freedom and refused to work unless they were paid (ibid 1998). An estimated 40,000 from the parishes of

Hanover, St James, Trelawny and Westmoreland were involved in the revolt, which was brutally crushed by colonial forces (ibid 1998). Sharpe was publicly hanged along with more than 500 of his followers (ibid 1998). For local plantation owners, who together held more than 106,000 slaves (ibid 1998), the insurrection was a wake-up call. With pending emancipation, they feared the freed slaves would withdraw their labour and retreat to the hills when unfettered. To thwart such a likelihood, which would have spelled doom for the sugar industry, an idea was hatched to populate the Jamaica interior with European migrants.

The 500 acres donated by Charles Rose Barron Seaford, Governor of Barbados, was tactical. Even though Seaford Town is in Westmoreland, the site is strategically located within a few miles from the boundaries of the neighbouring parishes of St James, Hanover, St Elizabeth and Trelawny, which 'offered some measure of security from Negro disturbance to the white inhabitants of all these parishes' (Senior 1978: 215). Volunteering the land was an attempt by Lord Seaford to secure a strategic advantage should another revolt occur (ibid 1978). Having property destroyed in the Western Liberation Uprising, he had unsuccessfully offered 800 acres for a police township (ibid 1978). Seaford Town would realise his wish of militia on his land. Following a dispute with contractors about the paltry sum being put up for the development, work began in July 1835 to clear woodland for the settlement (ibid 1978). Plans included growing provision crops and building 25 cottages to house an expected 300 European immigrants (ibid 1978). It was clear from such proposals that preparations were inadequate for the expected number of arrivals.

4.6.9 Recruiting the Germans

The Jamaica Legislative Assembly had offered £15 to anyone who brought European migrants to the island. Solomon Myers, a German Jew, was the first to take advantage of the proposition (Senior 1978). He recruited 64 Germans from Bremen for his small coffee plantation near Buff Bay in Portland (ibid 1978). The migrants had to complete an industrial residence of five years and during that period their freedom of movement was

restricted with a possible five-year jail sentence for breaching the regulation (ibid 1978).

On 21 February 1835, William Lemonius, a Prussian doctor living in Jamaica left for London after receiving £420 from the island's assembly to recruit Europeans (ibid 1978). He was initially tasked to enlist 25 Germans and 25 English families. He managed to sign up 28 English labourers and headed for Germany (ibid 1978). Lemonius travelled to Pyrmont in north Germany, about 45 miles to the south of the city of Hanover (ibid 1978). A German newspaper article marked 'Pyrmont' and dated 5 November 1835 stated:

'A fortnight ago a caravan of 800 persons, men and women, youths and girls, set out for Jamaica. Most of them are from Westphalia, only 28 being from the principality of Waldeck. The conditions to which they have agreed are hard; they must labour as servants for five years for a few acres of land, at expiration of which they enter on the possession of their little property. Their future prospects are, therefore, not very brilliant' (Senior 1978: 219).

Even though the outlook for a new life in Jamaica was not promising, the Germans were desperate to leave Germany to escape the oppressive feudal system that had taken hold following the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 and the Rhineland becoming part of Prussia (Senior 1978). The Jamaican contingent was part of an exodus from Germany to various parts of North America. Some 250 of those who were expected in Jamaica were to be settled in Seaford Town, one of three such townships on the island. The ship arrived in Jamaica on 22 December 1835. By then, only 16 of the promised cottages had been built and the provision grounds were not expected to bear fruit for another two months (ibid 1978). Following a short stay at Reading Wharf in Montego Bay, they were dispatched in hastily arranged caravans to Seaford Town making their way along dirt tracks and woodland (ibid 1978). The new arrivals included 21 labourers, three millers, three shoemakers, three carpenters, two brick makers, two rope makers, two tailors, three weavers, one dryer, two bakers, two masons, a blacksmith, a joiner, a gardener, a schoolmaster, an agriculturalist and two comedians (ibid 1978).

Poorly prepared living conditions took a terrible toll on the Germans. Within two weeks of being in Seaford Town dysentery had broken out. The illness, along with pleurisy and tropical fevers, claimed an estimated 34 lives over the same period (Senior 1978). Fear of the ‘fever’ gripped the town. Food shortages saw the Germans raiding neighbouring ‘Negro grounds’ (ibid 1978). ‘Thefts are of frequent occurrence, idleness, drunkenness, and indeed almost every species of vice may be said to reign triumphantly’ (Senior 1978: 227). During 1836, some 84 Germans joined the police force or went elsewhere. Some of the women took to wandering across the island begging and prostituting, some reaching as far as Kingston (ibid 1978). By 1838, several Germans who had made good from farming left for the United States (ibid 1978). However, over time the community settled and began to flourish. By the 1950s there were more than 2,000 direct German descendants living in Seaford Town (ibid 1978). This number was reduced by another wave of migration to the United States and Canada.

4.6.10 Seaford Town today

There are approximately 50 full German descendants still living in the district. They are mainly fifth and sixth generation descendants. The town’s tourism enterprise is based around a museum housing various artefacts depicting the history of the Germans, the story of their voyage to Jamaica and their heritage. The Germans are known locally as ‘Germaicans’ and have forged lasting bonds with descendants of former slaves. There are a number of houses in the community featuring traditional German architecture and cuisine particularly pork based. Seaford Town’s main attraction is the German people themselves and the museum, which is currently housed in a school classroom. Plans for a purpose-built facility are in the pipeline.

4.6.11 Seaford Town’s geography and demographics

Seaford Town is located on 500 acres of land in the northeast of Westmoreland, the most western parish in Jamaica. The parish, which is in the county of Cornwall, is situated on the south side of the island. Although Seaford Town is in Westmoreland, it lays within a

few miles from the parishes of St James (north), Hanover (northwest), St Elizabeth (southeast) and Trelawny (east). The town has two sub-districts - Coffee Ground and John Crow Hill, which are predominantly farming areas. Communities bordering Seaford Town are Amity and Lambs River (north); Dundee (south); Belvedere (west) and St Leonard's and St Elizabeth (east). Seaford Town is approximately 42 km from the parish capital Savanna-la-mar and 54km from Montego Bay, the island's main tourism centre. Seaford Town's geographical co-ordinates are latitude 18' 25" and longitude -77' 9".

The estimated population of Seaford Town is 666 people (SDC 2010a). Approximately 54.2 per cent of the household heads are male and 45.8 per cent female (ibid 2010a). Some 55 per cent of the population is under 30-years-old (ibid 2010a). There are three educational institutions - Seaford Town Early Childhood Institute, Seaford Town All Age and the Seaford Town Vocational Training Centre. An estimated 74 per cent of the population is educated to secondary level, while only 2.4 per cent received tertiary schooling (ibid 2010a). Some 85.5 per cent of household heads and the majority of other family members in Seaford Town have no academic qualifications (ibid 2010a). Approximately 44 per cent of household heads have received professional and technical skills training and 32 per cent in art and craft (ibid 2010a).

The only health facility, the Seaford Town Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Health Centre, is closed because the Roman Catholic diocese owns it and there is no resident doctor or nurse (SDC 2010a). Locals have to use the nearby Lambs River Health Centre. The majority of locals (48.2 per cent) used private health services and 42.2 per cent hospitals. Some 41 per cent of Seaford Town residents experience financial difficulties accessing health care (ibid 2010a). Some 61.4 per cent of households in Seaford Town own the land they live on and 21.7 per cent live on family owned land (ibid 2010a). Approximately 48.8 per cent of the houses are made of board and 49.4 per cent have pit latrines compared to the national average of 34.4 per cent (ibid 2010a). Private catchments provide water for 94 per cent of homes and liquid petroleum gas is used for cooking in 85.3 per cent of homes (ibid 2010a). Environmental concerns in the community include illegal dumping of rubbish, landslides, rock falls and water pollution (ibid 2010a).

Half the 404 people available for work in Seaford Town are employed (SDC 2010a). Of these, 58 per cent men and 42 per cent women. Forty per cent are under 30. Jobs include the service sector, agriculture and professional roles. Farming (62.7 per cent) is the main economic activity. The unemployed are women (59.7 per cent), men (40.3 per cent) and 41 per cent youths 14-24 (ibid 2010a). The majority of unemployed men have been out of work for more than five years and 31.4 per cent have never worked in their adult lives (ibid 2010a). An estimated 14.5 per cent of people depend on remittances. Approximately 95.2 per cent of locals said they felt safe with 75.9 per cent expressing the unlikelihood of being a victim of crime in the next 12 months (ibid 2010a). Community organisations include the Seaford Town Non-Governmental Organisation, the Seaford Town Youth Club, Seaford Town Community Development Committee and the Parents Teacher's Association (ibid 2010a).

Development challenges in Seaford Town include high-levels of unemployment, particularly among youths, lack of training opportunities, poor road infrastructure, low water pressure and lack of confidence in political representatives (SDC 2010a). Seaford Town's main economic resource is its people, museum, Roman Catholic Church, German architecture and cuisine (ibid 2010a).

4.6.12 Summary

The rationale for data production and the methodological considerations (see Table 4.6) have established the basis for the selection of Charles Town and Seaford Town as the main field study sites. Review of related literature and a rapid rural appraisal of four communities revealed the two areas to be the most likely to satisfy the research question of the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. Inhabitants of both areas have had to overcome their own set of challenges to make a life for themselves on the island. These hardships are imbued with notions of culture, sense of place, identity and community development, which have shaped the intangible and tangible cultural heritage locals now seek to exploit by way of tourism to sustain their present and their future. In exploring these concepts, it is clear the operation

of culture and tourism in Charles Town and Seaford Town can serve as a benchmark for local inhabitants and policymakers more broadly and add to new knowledge in relation to their mobilisation in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica.

4.7 Selecting qualitative tools

In this study, the procedure and technique is participant observation and interviewing, which encompasses informal and focus group interviews, and the tool is the ‘human instrument’ (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 175). Justification is the adeptness and amenability of humans to collect information using their ‘senses: talking to people, observing their activities, reading their documents, assessing the unobtrusive signs they leave behind, responding to their non-verbal cues, and the like’ (ibid 1989: 175). Furthermore, the role of the researcher, as the primary research instrument in this inquiry, focuses attention on the significance of promoting ‘intersubjective understanding’ (Cook and Crang 1995: 15) with participants from the very outset. It means the researcher being open and frank with people about who they are, their intentions and why they are in their community. The goal is immersion in their world through listening to their concerns and recording what they say by tape and notes (with their consent) and sharing life experiences with them. Engagement in this way can open up channels of communication and establish rapport and ‘common ground’ with local people, as ‘it is unusual for researchers to have absolutely nothing in common with, or no location within, the worldviews of the people whose lives they are attempting to study’ (ibid 1995: 25).

4.7.1 Watching what is going on

As a social research strategy, ethnography focuses on ‘describing and interpreting cultural behaviour’ in their natural setting (Schwandt 2001: 80 and Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). While the emphasis in an ethnographic study is on participant observation, which frames the researcher as ‘participant observer, the primary research

instrument', the set of issues to be investigated is essentially determined by the 'nature of the setting chosen for the study' (Walsh 1998: 217-223). However, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 32) warn that the idea of 'studying a setting' might be 'misleading' as it might not be feasible to undertake a comprehensive study of an area. In this research, the primary focus is on Charles Town and Seaford Town. However, emphasis is not on the entire population of the districts, but, specifically, on the descendants of Maroon and German inhabitants and people who have key knowledge of, or can shed light on their way of life, how they make sense of their realities and are more likely to be able to answer the research question. The groups under study are not 'contained within the boundaries' of their settings and in some cases, it will be necessary to gather external data to reveal the phenomena under investigation (Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 32). A further point, is that it is not possible to cover every occurrence in each setting, therefore, only the situations that appear most appropriate in satisfying the research question and objectives, are observed.

One of the main objectives on entering the field is to immerse in community life as quickly as possible. The first task was to identify the focal points of the community, the places where people congregate, where social interactions occurred naturally so that observation can take place. These included churches, sports fields, local bars, music functions, schools, health centres, shops, bathing areas by the river, farms, markets, museums, community events, recreational activities, general social occasions and impromptu gatherings. Volunteering to accompany locals on their travels and or to take part in activities also proved an effective way to meet people and gather data. 'The simple, ritualistic behaviours of going to the market or to the well for water teach how people use their time and space, how they determine what is precious, sacred, and profane' (Fetterman 1989: 45). By expressing a willingness and enthusiasm to immerse in community life, encouraged invitations to every, and any where. Having access to a car led to the role of 'community taxi', which increased opportunities to meet and speak to a variety of people within a limited time.

Adopting this approach fostered closer bonds, which resulted in invitations to church services, a public meeting, tourist functions, political rallies, conferences, a school nativity play, a community concert, a wake, market, evening football kick-a-bouts, a river fishing expedition and visits to farmers' fields. Furthermore, there was active participation in a community clean-up day event, domino games, nature treks, scenic walks, visits to people's homes and accompanying parents on school runs. Even though this process might appear 'unsystematic', 'uncontrolled' and 'haphazard' (Fetterman 1989: 45), it led to a decisive foothold in communities and helped to breakdown barriers with gatekeepers. The 'exploratory' nature of ethnographic work can pose a dilemma as to exactly where to begin (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Churches proved amenable starting points in each community, as the following outline highlights. Participating and observing a 'country cookout' social function, the Maroons' playing host to tourists, a community clean-up exercise and enjoying games of dominoes with locals, were also significant in revealing the meanings culture held for rural inhabitants in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development.

4.7.2 Worshiping with the locals

Although churches are not the only milieu for religious and spiritual expression in rural Jamaica, by their very nature, they are inherently fertile (see Appendix 1 Table 4.8 Log of Data Production events – interviews and observations, date, location, people involved and occasion). Their fixed settings and religiously anchored rituals give rise to their own constructions that, perhaps, would not be constructed elsewhere. Places of worship are the fabric of rural Jamaican communities; they interlink with every aspect of individual and group life: funerals, weddings, meetings and a place of comfort, rest and reflection. It appears to be a routine practice at every church for visitors to be introduced to the congregation, which is, essentially, a formal presentation to the entire community. Churches are highly formulaic and ritualistic and are where group and individual interactions and the interplay of power relations between local people become visible. It is here the construction of multiple realities (Berger and Luckmann 1966) of community life coalesces and where the constitution and re-constitution of knowledge occurs (see

Table 4.6). On Sundays, the unskilled labourer and the head-teacher both immaculately attired. They sit next to each other in the pews as contemporaries; one in mien and in their reverence of God: there is no differentiation. Such is their fraternisation they refer to each other as ‘brother’ or ‘sister’, brethren. On Monday, the hierarchical scale becomes unbalanced; normality resumes - the labourer to the field, the teacher to the classroom; a return to their everyday routines and their own subjective realities.

4.7.3 *‘Country cookout’*

In attempting to decode the pixels that compose the operation of culture in rural communities, there is an assumption that social structure and patterns of behaviour were just as likely to be visible in less conventional secular backdrops as in formal spiritual settings. Furthermore, as a human construct, culture lurks wherever they are. Social functions are just as likely as churches to hold ‘clues’ (Alasuutari 1995: 39) that could help in determining the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. Drawing on tacit knowledge (see Table 4.6), it was envisaged that observing a social function would ‘ensure as full and representative a range of coverage as possible’ rather than choosing only ‘superficially ‘interesting’ events’ to monitor (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 37). In addition, the ‘public’ (Geertz 1973: 12) and social interactive nature of culture and tourism, give weight to observing community social occasions like music shows, seasonal celebrations, tourist tours, picnics and ceremonies. In this milieu there would be a greater chance of witnessing culture unfold, how locals interact with each other and with outsiders. The intention was to stay on the fringes of such events watching what was going on and making notes of patterns of behaviour and how social structures are organised and acted out.

4.7.4 *Joining in the action*

Finding ways to participate in activities with locals is a crucial part of fieldwork and one that requires negotiation and renegotiation (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). The intention of getting close to the people researched is an attempt to try to ‘internalize’

participants' 'basic beliefs, fears, hopes and expectations' (Fetterman 1989: 45). First-hand accounts gleaned in this way would form the basis of explaining the phenomena under study. As Alasuutari (1995: 3) notes, participant observation are perhaps most appropriate to grasp cultural forms. Even though participation can take varying forms, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 70) suggest finding a level playing field with people where 'mundane small talk' can take place. Engaging in such 'normal' conversations can help build trust (ibid 2007: 70). The intimacy and popularity of playing dominos with locals proved ideal for laying such foundations. Taking an active part in a pre-Christmas community clean up in Seaford Town was equally effective in getting close up to locals. Joining in these activities were not only pivotal in breaking the ice among local people, but in 'establishing one's identity as a 'normal', 'regular', 'decent' person' (ibid 2007: 70). The intention was to immerse in local inhabitants' world and record their subjective experiences (see Table 4.6).

Such is the enclosed nature of the research sites it was important to appear to locals that you are on their level; you are just like them. Each activity participated in served to build another layer of credibility. Engaging in the activity of the church - singing, clapping, joining in the collective recital of biblical verses, bowing one's head or standing for prayers and readings, contributing to offerings, partaking in communal greetings (shaking the hand of other churchgoers) and attentiveness and displaying interest in the service – for example, engendered a great deal of trust. By becoming involved in services, there was a feeling that an effort was being made to capture local people's whole way of life; it gave the impression that what was being done was of significance and being there enkindled a kind of trust, a sense of credibility. There was a feeling of acceptance, though there was an awareness, at the same time, of the fact that this could have, in part, being viewed as an 'insider' (Fetterman 1989: 46) to some extent. Although this consciousness came with its prejudices, it served to increase focus on the research task and not to take 'events for granted, leaving important data unnoticed and unrecorded' (ibid 1989: 46).

4.7.5 *Cultural insider*

Researchers are ‘shaped by their socio-historical locations’; the knowledge they produce has ‘consequences’ and is not value-free (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 14 and Gold 2002). Researchers cannot cast-aside their ‘common-sense knowledge’ nor eschew the ‘social phenomena’ (see subjective epistemology – sub-section 3.3) they are investigating (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 18). The ‘position’ of the researcher further complicates the process and can have a direct bearing on the outcome of a study. This has led to increasing focus on researcher’s *positionality*, which is an attempt to frame the ‘autobiographical’ or auto-ethnographical considerations that arise, particularly, in qualitative research (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 29).

Inherently, a researcher’s positionality centres on their relationship with participants and the setting of the study. This means factors such as class, culture, education, gender, race, situatedness and place of origin can influence the research process and the researcher’s attempts to remain objective and neutral (Henry 2003: 230). Studies in the same social group, organisation or culture as the researcher heightens these considerations (Greene 2014). Contextualised as insider/outsider perspectives, a researcher’s positionality is a contested and paradoxical terrain, which questions notions of access, validity and the impartiality of researchers investigating their own groups (Henry 2003, Greene 2014, Ochieng 2010: 1725, Hawkins 2010, Gold 2002, Labaree 2002, Karra and Phillips 2008: 541 and Coffey 1999: 22). Particular attention has been paid to western trained investigators of Global South origin conducting studies in the territory of their lineage, ‘back home’ or among their own in other locations – the other investigating the other (Ochieng 2010, Karra and Phillips 2008: 542 and Labaree 2002).

When researching your own community, it is impossible to divorce your personal life experiences from your professional role and there will, inevitably, be an ‘overlap’ (Ochieng 2010: 1725) Researching ‘back home’ might be advantageous in terms of ‘ease of access, reduced resource requirements, ease of establishing trust and rapport and reduced problems with translation’ (Karra and Phillips 2008: 541). Adversely, there could be a ‘lack of critical distance, role conflict, and the limits of serendipity’ (ibid 2008: 541). There might even be issues where ‘both researcher and researched are black’

(Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 74). “Race” is, of course, not merely a matter of physical appearance, but is also defined in terms of culture, power, and personal style’ (ibid 2007: 74). While there are undoubted complexities, as to the position of the researcher in research, adopting the role of mere peripheral observer could prove even more problematic. Coffey (1999: 22) believes this could ‘render mute the ethnographic presence’ or even contradict experiential knowledge in fieldwork. Researchers undertaking ethnographies usually have something in common with the culture under study (ibid 1999: 22).

The complexities of researching back home could easily apply to me. I was born in rural Jamaica, but now a British citizen living in the UK. I have extensive journalism experience and am now undertaking academic research on a funded PhD studentship. A male of dark complexion, I have been told on previous visits to Jamaica that I have a strong ‘English accent’. In a country such as Jamaica with high levels of poverty, the assumption could be made that I am from a ‘privileged position’, which could affect how I am perceived and thus have a direct bearing on my role as a researcher in both positive and negative ways. The advantage of the perception of being a culture insider should enable close up participation with locals generally. Although, it is a subjective role that is not value free (see Table 4.6), Walsh (1989: 222) and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 82) argue that being able to function in this way affords more of a gaze than a ‘participant as observer’ in that there are shared cultural characteristics with participants. Somekh (2011: 133) believes this relationship could allow people to behave naturally without feeling ‘tense’, that they had to perform, ‘being inspected’ or that a complete outsider was monitoring their every move. This would enable capture of their nuances and conduct, as it is naturally occurring in its customary setting. Cultural insider recognition could cause distraction ‘becoming too immersed in the group’s culture and losing sight of alternative perspectives’ (Somekh 2011: 133).

Merging naturally in the cultural milieu enables conduct of research almost without notice or disturbing people’s everydayness. Those under observation would not need to modify their behaviour, because a total stranger was in tow. In this novel subjective

sense, participant observation as an insider entwines the observer and the observed perspectives; meaning accounts and descriptions are easier to interpret with veracity and empathy. Ethical dilemmas were confronted with complete honesty. Even though ‘insider-outsider’ tensions are unavoidable, Ochieng (2010: 1728) argues that they do not necessarily lead to unequal relationships between participants and researcher. If anything, they create a sort of plateau – a uniformed relation, ‘neither totally familiar nor totally strange’ (ibid 2010: 1728). By reflecting on participants’ own experiences in comparison to hers, Ochieng (2010: 1733) found that she was not only able to empathise with the circumstances of the researched, but her fieldwork process became informed by her own identity. However, Ochieng (2010), Gold (2002) and Labaree (2002) contend that insider-outsider relationships are situated in time, place and among different participants. These positions are ever changing, which means that a researcher entering the field needs to be mindful of holding fixed conceptualisations about insider-outsider relationships.

Insiders researching the Global South, argues Giwa (2015: 2), offer a ‘plural mode of knowledge production’. With their various worldviews, they are able to represent and interpret the South offering a more globally informed picture of the terrain (ibid 2015). At the same time, they can draw on cultural commonalities, which may better project the emotional and psychological demeanour of the researched (Greene 2014). However, Giwa (2015) cautions that home researchers ingrained in Western research approaches and power relations can enter the field ‘ill-equipped’ to chronicle the nuances of everydayness that are representative of life in the Global South. While this suggests that insiders may overlook what is plain to see, there is no guarantee that an objective observer would document it either. ‘To achieve a pure objectivism is a naïve quest, and we can never truly divorce ourselves of subjectivity (Bourke 2014: 3). It is clear that researching back home is far from being a one-dimensional pursuit and that dealing with the multiple identities that confront cultural insiders involves a process of negotiation and re-negotiation (Fournillier 2009 and Cui 2015). This is an on-going practice observed at all stages of the research.

The process of data production is now discussed.

4.7.6 Asking questions and listening

As well as generating data that may be ‘very difficult, if not impossible to obtain otherwise’, interviews can serve to illuminate participant observation accounts (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 102). Interviews can help verify the essential features of the circumstances being studied, give context to various situations in which they emerge, add insights into people’s cultural world and serve as a forum to articulate how they make sense of their experiences and way of life (Miller and Glassner 2011). In qualitative inquiry, interviews may relate to approaches, whereby data from group, structured and semi- and unstructured interviews can be analysed; personal encounters between researcher and people can be evaluated or used to assess the role of the interviewer during the interview process (Schwandt 2001: 135-136). While, in reality, these types of discussions overlap and merge, particular techniques play specific roles in generating information (Fetterman 1989). As such, the interview strategies adopted for this study were geared toward getting into the participants’ social world, to ‘understand that world’ and to allow research participants to ‘speak for themselves’ (Gubrium and Holstein 2005: xiv). ‘The object is to let the diversity of social worlds and their multiple meanings come through in whatever shape and form people actually experienced them’ (ibid 2005: xiv). To facilitate this perspective, the study’s interview formats were one-to-one and group discussions. An outline of these now follows.

4.7.7 One-to-one discussions

The need to uncover the layers of meanings (Fetterman 1989: 48) in the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica prompted use of informal interviews in this study. The assumption was that only through exposing each stratum of local people’s way of life could a full understanding of the meanings culture holds for rural Jamaican inhabitants in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development be grasped. The ‘casual’ conversational style of informal interviews was appropriate to my amiable manner and accorded with the ‘specific but implicit’ research strategy (Fetterman 1989: 48) of capturing the ordinary everydayness

of life in rural Jamaican communities. The strength of the approach was its promotion of interaction between the researcher and research participants and its 'focus on culture through the participant's perspective' (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 104). Using informal interviews in the study facilitated understanding of people's beliefs and how the level of cultural awareness varies between individuals; a contrast, which determines the 'shared values' that guide behaviour in communities and helps to initiate and sustain productive relationships with participants (Fetterman 1989: 48-49). Adoption of this method helped in capturing the 'nuances of culture' (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 104) in rural Jamaican communities. Informal interviews were used in relaxed rural community settings and a more semi-structured format was employed when interviewing tourism planners, managers and culture experts (see Table 4.7) in non-community locations. It was a differentiation necessitated by the need to put specific questions to practiced interviewees (see Appendix 2: Interview Topic Guide).

The iterative process meant initial and follow up interviews with some participants either to obtain additional information or following re-examination of literature. Despite the informal nature of interviews, questions were generally in the framework of culture and tourism and their role in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. The nature of rural fieldwork in a hot climate, such as Jamaica, meant that interviews (see Table 4.7) were not restricted to the confines of offices, cafés, restaurants, bars or libraries; they were mainly conducted during nature walks, a quiet shaded spot under a tree, in people's homes, in farmer's fields and or in the researcher's car. In the majority of cases, people chose the locations. It was obvious by their choice that they wanted a relaxed setting where they could converse on their terms. Interviews with non-community tourism and culture officials were in their offices, hotel lobbies, eateries, or anywhere of their choosing.

The conversational nature of informal interviews meant there were no specific way or questions used to commence discussions (Fetterman 1989). Interviews, generally, began with an outline of the purpose of the research (see section 4.9). This ensured that people had an idea of the subject framework that would shape questions. People would then be

asked to confirm who they were, so that recordings could be accurately assigned, before turning to general questions such as how long they have lived in the community or area; what was it like living there, the role they felt culture and tourism played in their community's development. Questions were open ended to encourage participants to lead the conversation to 'capture unexpected issues and information' (Barbour and Schostak 2011: 61). At appropriate junctures there were follow up probes (see Appendix 2: Interview Topic Guide) to clarify matters or to elicit new or additional information that related to any of the key themes of the thesis or interrelated issues. The aim was to 'avoid structure so that exploration of respondents' meanings were untrammelled by formality (Brewer 2000: 66). However, at certain points, specific questions helped to confirm important or controversial claims made by respondents. This ensured fairness and that points made by respondents were representative of the meanings they intended. The move served to reassure people that what they said was fairly treated and representative. As a result, their confidence in the process increased leading to, often, deep, unexpected and innermost information about intangible and tangible life experiences.

Selection of interview participants happened in various ways to try to capture a range of views that would illuminate the study, as well as 'revealing the perspectives and discursive practices' of those being interviewed (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 120). On occasions, interviews were spontaneous. Such was the impromptu nature of these occurrences; there were recordings on mobile phone. There was reliance on purposive sampling in keeping with the constructivist framework (see Table 4.6), recommendations and through follow-ups from focus group interviews. For example, a focus group participant may have made a point that needed further exploration. There were requests for one-to-one interviews to explore the subject area or with another person to whom reference had been made.

Information in Table 4.7 relates to the number and background of people interviewed in study

| Interviewees | Number of people |
|----------------------------------------|------------------|
| Charles Town Residents | 11 |
| Non Charles Town Maroons | 3 |
| Seaford Town Residents | 20 |
| School Teachers | 5 |
| International Volunteers /Visitors | 3 |
| Beeston Spring Residents | 7 |
| Bowden Pen Residents | 8 |
| Jamaica culture experts | 2 |
| Community Tourism Experts | 3 |
| Hotel Managers | 1 |
| Community Tourism Development Managers | 3 |

Table 4.7 Number and background of interviewees in study

4.7.8 *Focus groups*

Like the other data gathering techniques adopted in this study, focus group interviews were used to explore the meanings culture holds for rural Jamaican inhabitants in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development and to examine the extent to which they capitalised on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism. Even though there are conflicting accounts as to the nature, type and depth of data produced by focus groups (Hague and Hague 2004: 48 and Belgrave and Smith 2002: 241), their use in this study provided additional information that complemented views obtained from participant observation and informal discussions. Theoretically, focus groups involve people with shared interest or experience and provide qualitative data that helps researchers ‘understand what is going on’ (Hague and Hague 2004: 48). Practically, in this study, they generated further lines of inquiry and proved particularly useful in revealing community dynamics in terms of group interaction and closed groupings and the factions that exist in attempting to develop rural communities in Jamaica.

Three focus group sessions were held in this study: one with senior government community tourism policymakers in Kingston, a second with primary school teachers and affiliates in Charles Town and the third with German descendants in Seaford Town. Although the focus groups, in general, adhered to theoretical underpinnings, their purpose and significance in this investigation emerged out of happenings in the field. Focus group discussions were part of the data production planning, as both a review of literature and the preliminary fieldwork indicated their usefulness in producing rich qualitative data. However, occurrences in the field led to their metamorphosis as a situated interviewing technique rather than the envisaged more general complementary role. Even though they did provide important supporting information, each focus group was site-specific and, somewhat, opportunistic in being modified in the wake of unfolding circumstances. Discussion now turns to explaining the context of the focus group interviews in each location and their wider use.

4.7.9 Focusing on the policymakers

The focus group with senior government tourism policymakers was more opportunistic than pre-planned. Having contacted Jamaica's Ministry of Tourism seeking interviews with officials involved in the development of rural community tourism, the hope was to meet one or two representatives at most. After emailing, in advance, a requested brief of the 'area of focus' of the study, there was a meeting arranged at the Ministry of Tourism offices in New Kingston. However, just before the engagement, it was revealed there would be several senior policymakers from the ministry and its offshoot TPDCo, which has responsibility for implementing the practical on-the-ground strategies for enhancing the island's tourism product. In all, six people attended the meeting (five women and a man) from the ministry and TPDCo. All the members of the group were directly involved with community (rural and urban) tourism development in Jamaica, either in terms of initiating policy or in their practical implementation at senior management level.

The success of ethnographic fieldwork is, largely, dependent on the flexibility of the researcher (Whitehead 2004). In this case, the opportunity to hold a wide-ranging discussion with senior policymakers involved in the development of community tourism in Jamaica was a coup. Having already supplied an advanced brief of the subject area, there was satisfaction that everyone had sufficient information of the interview themes. With all the necessary documents (see Appendix 5: Focus Group Participant Information Sheet; Appendix 2: Interview Topic Guide and Appendix 4: Informed Consent Form) and recording equipment – already in hand to ensure ethical and confidentiality protocols were maintained, there were no barriers to seizing the opportunity. The interview lasted one hour thirty-seven minutes and produced a significant breadth of information regarding government policies and their implementation in the development of rural community tourism in Jamaica. Even though it was a formalised discussion, in that the people involved had prior knowledge of the interview themes, the session provided a breakthrough in uncovering attitudes and mind-sets among interviewees in relation to the use of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities.

4.7.10 Focusing on Maroon descendants

As the entity in Charles Town responsible for exploiting their culture, by way of tourism, the focus of the study centred on the descendants of the Maroons. It meant spending most of the time observing their actions and behaviours, interviewing various members and generally participating in their activities at every turn. However, there were brief moments, like in a rum bar for example, when there were none of the key Maroon players in the community around and other locals would splutter dissenting comments about them. In a discussion about the state of affairs in Charles Town, for example, a person remarked '*it is those Maroons*', but did not elaborate. When attempts were made to clarify the reason for such a comment, the reply was '*nothing; besides, it's not worth it*'. The person making this particular comment, however, appeared inebriated. Perhaps it could have even been a guise to say something colourful to attract my attention in the hope of soliciting a drink in return for more 'interesting' information. It later transpired the person in question was a disgruntled former significant member of the Maroon clan. The issue here was the difficulty in ascertaining a genuine Maroon descendant in Charles Town, as they all are interrelated on some familial level, close or distant. However, this is hardly surprising and is perhaps a problem that confronts other newcomers to the town. Nevertheless, overhearing dissenting utterances raised questions as to the need to get some sort of external view about the Maroon descendants in Charles Town other than from themselves with who close contact was maintained. The supposition was that the significance of culture and tourism in the community was too complex to grasp one dimensionally. Data collection must be embracing of 'a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures' (Geertz 1973: 10) that exist in a community like Charles Town if the significance of the meanings culture holds for local inhabitants was to be understood. For example, how does the commoditisation of Maroon culture resonate with those who were not immediate beneficiaries? Are there any noticeable cultural differences?

Accompanying a Maroon contact on 'school runs' had helped to foster relationships with teachers at the Charles Town Primary School. The school catered for Maroon descendant and non-Maroon descendant children and some of the teachers lived away from the

community. The thinking was; here was a group of people with intimate knowledge of the Maroon descendants, who, perhaps, could highlight cultural differences in the community. Their daily contact with Maroon parents meant they were ideally placed and well informed to offer insights on the Maroon descendants' way of life, how they acted towards each other and the meanings culture held for them in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development. The strong bonds among the Maroon descendants, perhaps, would inhibit independent views in a group discussion. A focus group involving more independent minded staff at the school might be less controlling, augur a process of sharing and comparing, address points raised in interviews with the Maroons and how these were viewed more widely (Morgan 1998). The belief was that the Maroon descendants might not be prepared to criticise each other. This led to a small focus group meeting involving members of the Charles Town Primary School. Three of the teachers attended - two men and a woman and a school governor. Even though the meeting took place after school and restricted by time constraints, it proved a very useful gathering. Discussions went on for some fifty-four minutes and resulted in new information about cultural differences in the Maroon community, social and economic conditions and a significant interview referral that offered even greater, if somewhat controversial insights into the cultural, social and economic development of Charles Town.

4.7.11 Focusing on German descendants

As with the Maroon descendants in Charles Town, the culture of the people of German descendants in Seaford Town is the main platform for efforts to develop community-based tourism. However, descendants of Germans in the town were a closed grouping and finding ways to build up data on how they interact with each other in a group setting was crucial to the study. It made sense to repeat the staging of a similar focus group like the one in Charles Town, but this time to obtain first-hand information from the people of German descent rather than outsiders. There were numerous people in Seaford Town willing to offer views as to why the German descendants were the way they are, but very few German descendants appeared interested in talking about themselves. The give and take of a focus group discussion provided useful insights into what matters most to them

(Morgan 1998). Furthermore, the unstructured open ended nature of the discussions could lead to exploration and discovery and explanations of why things are the way they are and how they got to be that way (Morgan 1998). The objective was to give the people of German descent the platform to express their experiences of how they made sense of their realities; why there is a perception of them that they are chary.

The idea of asking a community elder to help recruit participants, in this case the head teacher of the local elementary school, was that they would invite key members of the German community who were most able to talk about issues that mattered to them (Morgan 1998). It was envisaged that this group would be informed enough to explain how and why they think and act as they did. This information would be of importance in interpreting the significance of culture for the people of German descendants in Seaford Town. In all, five people, including the head teacher, attended the focus group meeting. One of them was not of German descent, but a partner of one of those in attendance. The interview was in a classroom of the elementary school. It began around 6pm and lasted for two hours and three minutes. It gave a good insight into the interaction and way of life of the German community, addressed questions raised in individual interviews and led to significant follow-up one-to-one interviews.

4.8 Treatment of data

Data analysis began with transcribing of interviews, as the cost of paying the transcription in a single block was too exorbitant. One quotation for transcribing a body of interviews was more than £6,000. Once transcribed, coding was manual, which was the preferred choice in this case. Typed field notes were similar. With a strong knowledge of patois and its subtle distinctions, the approach involved a partial selection and exclusion of data, ‘drawing out, literally through content and form, particular relationships’ and nuances (Fortun 2009 cited in Clifford and Marcus 1986: xiii). Computer software was not necessary in this case. Furthermore, eschewing the label of a

‘neo-Luddite’, Schwandt (2001: 28) argues that just because ‘computer-managed analysis is by definition more algorithmic, systematic and rigorous’ it is not necessarily better. ‘Although computer-assisted tools make qualitative inquiry a different practice, ‘different’ is not synonymous with ‘better’ (ibid 2001: 28). In any case, the task of the study was to apply a method of data analysis that generated insights and understandings from the information collected.

4.8.1 Coding

Alasuurati’s (1995: 13) framework proposes ‘two phases of qualitative analysis’, ‘purification of observation and unriddling’. Purification of observation, first, considers information from ‘*a particular theoretical and methodological point of view*’ giving preference to what was indispensable in answering the research question (ibid 1995: 13). Secondly, it contracts data by ‘*combining* observations’ selectively identifying a ‘common denominator’ in line with the theoretical position of the study (ibid 1995: 13). Unriddling refers to ‘interpretation of findings’ based on ‘hints and clues’, ‘pieces of information’ and drawing from other studies (ibid 1995: 16). The thread of purification of observation considered in this study is the perceptive selection of information. The reason being the diverse nature of information provided by participants is always not uniformed. ‘Holding different speaker’s positions’, as Alasuurati (1995: 19) concedes, ethnographic participants are ‘able to shed light on the structural whole being studied from different points of view’. The information they provide is ‘many-sided’ – ‘folk tales’, ‘myths’, ‘proverbs’, ‘rituals and religious beliefs’, which are all critical in explaining data obtained from the people under study.

4.9 Ethical considerations ²

² See Appendix 8 – Risk Assessment Form and 9 – Ethical Approval Document

While the objective of this study is to produce knowledge, the aim was not to do so at ‘all costs’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 209). Respect for all participants, their circumstances, accounts and way of life was maintained throughout. The intention was to gain a realistic understanding of the multiple ways in which participants in the research understood the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. Every effort was made to ensure that the people in the study were not ‘negatively depicted as a problem’ (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 86). ‘Professionalism and a delicate step demonstrate the ethnographer’s deep respect, admiration, and appreciation for the people’s way of life’ (Fetterman 1989: 120). To this end, this research study subscribes to the ethical obligations of May (1980) cited in Schwandt (2001: 75):

‘The duties of field-workers to their host populations – duties to respect confidences, to communicate to them the aims of the research, to protect anonymity, to safeguard rights, interests, and sensitivities, to give fair return for services rendered, to anticipate the consequences of publication, to share the results of research with affected parties, and to be sensitive to the diversity of values and interests of those studied – all these duties rest on a deeper footing than a contract, on a lower pedestal than philanthropy [that pretends to a wholly gratuitous altruism], and on a more concrete foundation than Kant’s universal principle of respect’.

On initial contact with prospective participants, there was a personal introduction giving own name and credentials as a PhD research student from Coventry University, followed by an outline of the nature of the study, what it entails and the role expected of them in the production of data. There was a separate Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix 3 and 5) for semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews (see Appendix 1 Table 4.8 Log of Data Production Sheet) and time allowed prospective participants to digest its content on every occasion. Recording would not commence until they read the Participant Information Sheet or have it read to them if it needed to be and they signed the Informed Consent Form (see Appendix 4). Only, when this was done, and at their behest, would the

audio recording machine be switched on, and the interview began. This was not, in any way, a covert investigation and at every opportunity, there was information for participants to ensure they knew about the study's aims so that they could decide whether or not to take part (Gobo 2008). For administration purposes, at the start of any recording, participants identified themselves. There was a brief outline to test their awareness of culture, involvement in cultural activities and tourism development in their communities. For all interviews, participants signed the Informed Consent Form (see Appendix 4). There was a Topic Guide (see Appendix 2) for some interviews.

4.9.1 Confidentiality

Focus group participants have not been identified in the findings chapters, apart from the area or organisation they are from. The strategic stakeholders agreed to their identification as their responses relate to policy issues. People who have requested to remain anonymous have not been identified and comments, for example, are referred to as a 'Seaford Town resident' or 'senior tourism/agriculture official', etc. All consent forms are being stored in a separate secure location from the raw data itself. All research data are stored in locked filing cabinets in a room used as an office at the researcher's home address and to which only the researcher has access. Data entered on the researcher's computer is password protected. For transparency and peer review purposes, only the supervisory team and researcher have access to raw data. Primary field records retained for five years after completion of field study while research data retained for six years in case there is a need to revisit the information. While in the field, data obtained from participants digitally uploaded onto the researcher's portable computer. Access to the machine required a username and password. The equipment was stored in a section of researcher's computer bag, secured by a key to which only the researcher had access.

4.9.2 Selection of people for interviews (see tables 4.7 and 4.8)

The criteria for selection of people for interview were those over 18-years-old and who had knowledge of rural community tourism development. They engaged in the activity or

wanted to be involved; those that felt they had not benefitted from the activity or had; or people who were, simply, interested in the development of their community, by way of culture, tourism or by other means. For informal interviews, people were contacted directly or via other parties. Focus groups interviewees received a Focus Group Invitation Form (see Appendix 6) and those who accepted received a Focus Group Attendance Confirmation Form (see Appendix 7). The community focus group sessions were at the start of the final week of stay in each community. This ensured sufficient time and knowledge to be able to recruit the type of people who would be able to provide a diversity of views.

Statutory bodies, voluntary groups and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) involved with tourism and rural community development in Jamaica were approached in the form of a letter, by telephone and email requesting interviews with their rural community tourism representatives and policy makers. Participants were also recruited using snowball sampling techniques, as there were 'no list or institution' available to identify frontline staff and key rural community development actors (Deacon et al. 1999). This method was appropriate for the 'closed' and 'informal social groupings' of rural communities where recommendations were valuable in 'opening up' channels of communication with prospective participants (ibid 1999). There were no incentives for any interview, although a donation of J\$2,000 (about £14) was made to both Charles Town Primary School and Seaford Town Elementary School for allowing the focus group meetings to be staged there. The money would go towards the students' Christmas meal.

On leaving each field site, there was expression of thanks to everyone for taking part in the inquiry. There were gifts of special plants for two participants who, it was felt, went out of their way to provide assistance. Following return to the UK, several participants were texted, telephoned or emailed to thank them for their assistance. Contact is still maintained with many of them and it is intended to email a full version of the thesis to the main contacts in each community and provide them with details of Coventry University's open access site to which the document will be uploaded so they can obtain their own copies if they wish to do so. Furthermore, I have been invited to attend the forthcoming

Quao Day celebrations in Charles Town to present the findings of my study at a community workshop event. I also plan to visit Seaford Town where an open public event is being planned to share the findings of the study to ensure a process of co-creation of knowledge.

4.10 Summary

The focus of this chapter was on contextualising the theoretical approach, methodology, data production tools, data analysis, ethical considerations and positionality of the researcher. The intention was to establish the foundation for the analysis of the research findings in Chapter Five and Six. The goal, relying on ‘thick’ detailed descriptions and field notes is to make plain the interpretation of ‘social expressions’, which are ostensibly ‘enigmatical’ (Geertz 1973: 4) and to give voice to rural Jamaican inhabitants. The fact that culture is continually under construction (Fortun 2009 cited in Clifford and Marcus 2011), or every culture has its own system of ‘interpretation, its techniques, its methods...’ (Foucault 1994: 270) make this task particularly challenging. ‘The ethnographer is asked to represent, in familiar terms, what is foreign. He (sic) is asked to decode that which demonstrates that the world is coded. And he must be convincing, authoritative’ (Fortun 2009 cited in Clifford and Marcus 2011: xi). This involved immersion in the day-to-day way of life of the Charles Town Maroon descendants and the Seaford Town German descendants to grasp the manner in which their realities are constructed and the significance of their constructions. Stating my positionality in the research reflects on these processes. In other words, it was necessary to understand the meanings culture holds for them in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development and the extent to which they capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism. Such insights will help to formulate recommendations for local inhabitants and policymakers in relation to the mobilisation of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica and elsewhere. This then is the methodological basis for the findings reported

in the following chapters.

The next two chapters incorporate the case study data analysis in the Charles Town Maroon community and Seaford Town German community.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY DATA ANALYSIS: THE CHARLES TOWN MAROON DESCENDANTS

PUTTING UP A RESISTANCE: THE ROLE OF CULTURE AND TOURISM IN THE MAROON DESCENDANTS' FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

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Figure 5.13 Maroon warriors depicted on the hoarding of the Safu Yard in Charles Town (Taylor 2011)

Cameo

'In terms of coordinating, each project wants to establish an identifier, imprint themselves, and so, now, we are going to have two welcoming signs, neither of which will say what we want it to say; neither of which, we will have control over what it is it says. Each agency wants to have themselves imprinted, so instead of doing something that tells you something about the place, they use the same signage, the same thing that is just like any other signage anywhere else. It is an issue we have with organisations; it is a lack of understanding. Even though they have hard evidence of our ability to manage to success, to drive things, they still want, somehow, to control, to stamp their identity on it. They have all these high-paid consultants, who don't really care; they don't have a heart; they don't have a feel for the subject matter, but because they have some PhD in something, from some place, they come in, and what they do is, sometimes, almost ludicrous. On one sign (see Figure 5.14) that was done by IICA, they had the Maroons blowing the abeng (a trumpet-type instrument carved out of a cow's horn) from the tip, but Maroons blow abeng from the side (see Figure 5.15). We had a Maroon from Surinam questioning our legitimacy by asking: 'I thought you people were Maroons: how come you have this sign?' These are the type of things they do. IICA did not consult us, they said they had some money and they had to spend it quickly, so there was no time for consultation and that's what we ended up with. This is why we have to reach that point where we drive our development for ourselves by ourselves' (Abeni, senior male Maroon descendant, Charles Town, 20 June 2011).

³ The names of participants in Chapters Five and Six have been changed to protect their identity, although it is conceivable that people in the relevant local communities could recognise who the people are from the nature of the subject matter they are discussing (see earlier ethical discussion, Chapter Four).

5.0 Introduction

The (above) evidence of Abeni, forcefully, encapsulates the contentiousness, skepticisms, misinterpretations, pomposity and determination that lie at the heart of the Charles Town Maroon descendants' attempts to exploit their culture by way of rural community tourism. It was noticeable that relationships in the community needed little substance to combust. Questions of identity regarding culture, sense of place and relationships ignite real passion and anger. *'They say I divide Charles Town?'* questions an incensed Abeni, in response to comments by a local group leader that he was responsible for the Charles Town Maroon descendants being a community within a community. *'I have divided Charles Town?'* he reiterates, indignantly, stabbing his index finger into his chest. *'How have I divided Charles Town?'* Again, he questions, before retorting incandescently; *'Success versus fuckry'* (Abeni, 15 November 2011).

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Figure 5.14 Charles Town Maroon Museum and Safu Yard welcoming sign (Taylor 2011)

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Figure 5.15 Blowing the abeng (Taylor 2011)

Abeni's fury was not fuelled by malice or hate, but by a desire to ease economic hardships and preserve local Maroon traditions and wellbeing. In the distant past, challenges to the survival of his predecessors were met by fierce guerrilla warfare; today it was by way of exploiting their intangible and tangible cultural heritage. This manifests in attracting visitors and tourists who pay to enjoy Maroon entertainment, rituals, folklore, arts, crafts, foods, herbal remedies, cultural hiking trails, spectacular vistas, interactions and the general milieu of their community. In 2012, a J\$18 million (UK£115,755) from JSIF was used to upgrade the Charles Town Maroon Museum and Safu Yard, which are the main attractions in the community. These, along with the Maroon descendants' annual Quao Day festival and the hosting of various other events, should continue to help to boost visitor numbers thereby sustaining local livelihoods and traditions. However, in a deprived community with more than half the population unemployed, there is still some way to go to fully secure socio-economic wellbeing.

Within this context, the chapter investigates the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of Charles Town. It further examines the meanings culture holds for the Maroon descendants in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development and the extent to which they capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism. Even though capitalising on Maroon culture is critical to their survival, empirical evidence and observations from locals and external sources reveal the process is complex and bounded by differentiated and often contentious relationships.

Findings suggest some of the practices of the Maroon descendants are of far greater significance than literature indicates. On the surface, for example, traditional dancing by Maroon descendants appears to be purely for entertaining and interaction with tourists. However, the study reveals the practice has deep cultural and emotional meanings. Moreover, dancing is a source of empowerment and identity and provides a sense of place and belonging that links back to the ancestors of the Maroon descendants and a time of independent and liberatory zeal. The fact that these practices hold such importance today, are clear signs of sustainability (see Chapter Two). Moreover, they serve as cultural repositories to which the Maroon descendants have recourse for contemporary articulations. The findings indicate a gap in current understanding of the significance of cultural traditions to Maroon descendants and the effects they have on their daily lives. Moreover, they reinforce the premise that for rural community tourism to be sustainable, in areas like Charles Town, the activity needs to be intertwined with local people's culture, identity, sense of place and belonging. In this way, the activity takes on a meaning, which can then be interpreted by locals, and therefore sustained.

The articulations of local people are presented in 'thick descriptions' (see Chapter Four). This is because ethnography ties together fieldwork and culture, and culture itself, is not visible, but can be seen through its representations. Moreover, ethnography records the culture of a group thus using thick descriptions or long quotations, as is the case in this study, allow the voices of local inhabitants to come through. Detailed reflective field notes are part of the iterative process that helps with decoding by illuminating and

contextualising the milieu of these occurrences. It is argued that appreciation of the descendants of Maroons' social relations and practices can only be gained through a thorough interrogation of their wider culture and everyday actions. It is within this context that the chapter adds to existing knowledge.

The chapter is organised in relation to the review of literature in Chapter Two. The section begins with evidence and observations relating to the status of community based tourism in Charles Town. This is followed by accounts regarding the extent of cultural commoditisation, challenges facing community based tourism and visions for the future.

5.1 The status of community based tourism in Charles Town

5.1.1 Exploiting the legacy of the ancestors

The absence of a proper meeting place and the lack of focus of local youths, laid the foundations for the Charles Town Maroon Museum and Safu Yard and its rural community tourism project. The late Kenneth Douglas, a timber merchant, led the discussions with other elder Maroon descendants after evening football kickabouts and swim in the nearby Buff Bay Valley River. A group was established and set about enlarging the existing playing field, building a sheltered complex to hold meetings and events and organising a youth committee. With little money, it took a community effort to get the project off the ground. When they needed land clearing to extend the playing field, locals banded together with '*machetes, power saws, axes and whatever it took*' to get the job done, recalls Etana, a local Maroon elder. When some stubborn tree stumps needed to be milled, a successful fund-raising event helped secure the cash to pay for the work. During one get together in the late 1990s, prominent Maroon descendant Keith Lumsden suggested reforming the Maroon descendants' group. His idea was for a body or 'Council of Elders', who would assist in initiating activities to teach local youths about Maroon culture. Lumsden explained to his fellow Maroon descendants that they could

attract help to develop their community, but they needed to come together as a group. One of the strategies he outlined was community tourism. It was felt that activities and projects based around Maroon culture would attract visitors to the community, thereby generating income. Furthermore, cultural practices and performances, which would be used to entertain tourists, could help revive certain Maroon customs and practices.

The idea was put before the Maroon Council of Elders, made up of the most experienced Maroon descendants in Charles Town and was accepted. Abeni explains:

‘My role is as I have defined it, is to protect the legacy and integrity of our ancestors and to use what they left us, the culture, the heritage to drive economic development. This is the best way of sustaining the culture more so than merely preserving it’ (Abeni, 20 June 2011)

As Abeni admits, a major concern was how to sustain the Maroon culture, which was not being passed on to youths in the community and, therefore, in danger of dying out. Equally worrying, was the lack of job opportunities in Charles Town for school leavers. Many had to move away to find work and those who could not, turned to farming, while others spent their time idling outside bars, on verandahs, under a shaded spot to escape the sun, moving from one place to the next to ease the boredom from doing little day after day. It was easy to see why rural communities such as Charles Town were in desperate need of income-generating strategies. On Monday 31 October 2011, I noted in my field journal:

‘Employment is a major issue in Charles Town or should that be unemployment. Yaw, a local Maroon descendant, is a welder by trade, but has been working as a labourer on the house opposite where I am staying. He earns about J\$1,500 a week (£9.71), but it is not every week that he is paid, as it depends on when money is available. Sometimes he has to wait up to three-weeks and is then paid a lump sum. Once, he recalls, receiving J\$20,000 (£129.40) for three-weeks work, which he thought was good. However, Yaw now faces a three-week lay-off, as the

builders are away on another job. He has not been invited, as there is not enough work, so he has nothing to do for the next three weeks. In the meantime, he has decided to make a coop to house some wild pigeons, which he is planning to raise to subsidise his intermittent income. Yaw sums up his daily plans as, '*watever me wake up and find fe do, me jus do it; a dat me do, yu no*'. The jobs created by the old sugar plantations have not been replaced, was a thought that struck me. The pastor at the Jamaican Bible Church in White River had prayed for 'job applications', which at the time, I thought was a bit unusual; I now knew why' (Field journal, 31 October 2011).

On Thursday 3 November 2011, I again made notes in my field journal regarding lack of work for local youths:

'Kobby, a local Maroon drummer, who is part of the troupe, which provides entertainment for visitors, has left his drum outside to soak up the sunlight. The last action the instrument saw was on Tuesday, the most recent visit by tourists to the community. Since then, things have been very slow. There seems to be a pattern in both communities (Charles Town and Scotts Hall, another Maroon descendant community I visited on Wednesday 2 November) of hordes of young men out of work. It is a depressing sight. Colonel Noel Prehay, Leader of the Scotts Hall Maroon descendants, estimated that as many as 95 per cent of the 2,000 people in his community were out of work. Unemployment predictions in Charles Town were upward of 85 per cent. Even though the figure for Charles Town is staggering, it is seen as a thriving community with a number of youths from Scotts Hall moving there to find work. It seems that something or someone has failed these youths, particularly, those over 18-years-old. They appear willing to work, but there are no jobs. Instead, Kobby and Joojo, his drumming partner, sit there watching a US television sitcom, while his drum suns itself to retain its strength, shape and character until the next tourist tour or he wants to fine-tune his talent. An article in the Jamaica Gleaner newspaper says unemployment, nationally, is about 14 per cent, but if as local figures suggest, there is a six fold

difference, then the situation in these communities are truly gloomy. It is disheartening to witness so many young men sitting around with nothing meaningful or financially rewarding to do. All these youths have a trade of some sort, even to the level of qualified teacher, but there is no work for them to do. The drum, the symbol of Maroon pride, soaks up the sun knowing it will beat again, but no one is quite sure when that will be' (Field journal, 3 November 2011).

5.1.2 Community tourism attractions in Charles Town

The Maroon Museum and Safu Yard complex is a beacon of light in Charles Town and the most successful dimension of the community's tourism project. Orange Vale, a nearby former 18th Century coffee plantation ruin; Old Crawford Town and Sambo Hill (see Figure 2.7), a former Maroon mountain hideout with spectacular views extending to the sea at Buff Bay, some two miles away, are other attractions that supplement the prestige of the Maroon Museum and Safu Yard. These operations clearly fit the reinvigoration of local culture resources, as the basis of social and economic wellbeing (see Chapter Two).

The Maroon Museum and Safu Yard are 'highly rated' locally, nationally and internationally. Locals from all factions hold them as community cultural assets. Although Kisi, a local community leader, argued that the complex was in need of renovation and upgrading to include toilet facilities, she too recognised its significance to Charles Town. As another local resident pointed out, the museum and Safu Yard was what set the community apart from the other three Maroon enclaves on the island. Scotts Hall does not have a designated space to display its artefacts; Moore Town has a small room and Accompong's museum was incorporated in its community centre. While all the Maroon communities are diverse and have their own special features, Charles Town's geography adds to its distinctiveness. The town is located on the thoroughfare that links Buff Bay to Kingston via the Blue Mountains. There are no routes through the other Maroon communities.

The Charles Town Maroon descendants have capitalised on their situatedness by building rest stops to take advantage of the passing tourist trade to and from the Blue Mountains. On average, the museum and Safu Yard welcomes at least one tourist coach weekly. This figure can increase by up to four coaches weekly based on evidence during fieldwork. These group tours are boosted by school trips and individual visits on an ad hoc basis. The annual Charles Town Maroon Conference, which celebrates the town's historic leader Captain Quao, is the single largest event and takes place June 21-23. The conference has gained national and international attention for literary and cultural presentations. It is a time when the community receives a huge profile and the local economy benefits from sale of artefacts, accommodation, food and drink, performances and trekking tours. The national and international media exposure that results from the celebrations helps the community all year round.

The unique selling point of the Charles Town Maroon descendants is the transformation of their intangible and tangible cultural heritage into a commodity. The artefacts in the museum, the use of the Twi language, the traditional West African fertility doll (see Figure 4.11) etched in the wood above the entry to the Safu Yard, the tour to Sambo Hill (see Figure 2.7), the infamous Maroon hideout and lookout, the dancing, drumming, food and drink and utensils all trail their ancestors. Through cultural linkages with their predecessors, the Maroon descendants have established a viable product and are able to sustain it in the form of close bonds with others who hold the same ideas and sense of belonging. In their desire to expand, the Maroon descendants further draw on these connections developing and cementing ties, primarily, with their apparent ancestral homeland of Ghana in West Africa. This includes exchange visits and performances at events involving inhabitants both countries. The Maroon descendants also forge other ancestral connections with Maroon descendants in other parts of the Caribbean and South America, particularly those in Surinam and Brazil. Charles Town further positions itself as home to the global African diaspora.

In seeking to develop their community, the Maroon descendants actively engage in local, national and international networking to attract external support from funding agencies

such as IICA, JSIF and various departments of the Jamaica government. The Maroon Museum and Safu Yard is staffed and run entirely by local Maroon descendants and the resources they exploit are strongly linked to their way of life. The facility has been in existence for more than a decade and despite its many challenges continues to do well.

5.2 The extent of culture commoditisation in Charles Town

5.2.1 Diversifying Maroon culture: dancing for business or pleasure

One of the main ways the Maroon descendants differentiate or demarcate their culture is through dancing. With music an integral feature of almost every aspect of their social life, forming and cementing bonds and generating excitement, there is deeper, spiritual meaning attached to dancing. There are two distinctive categories – the ‘*business dance*’ and the ‘*pleasure dance*’ or Kromanti dance. The business dance involves invoking the ancestors and becoming possessed by them. This usually happens when intense and relentless drumming and ‘*blowing rum*’ produces a hypnotic effect. People in this trance-like state are said to be possessed by spirits and can be unaware of their actions or behaviour. The business dance is performed in private or secret and is not for public consumption. The pleasure dance is celebratory and performed for tourists and on other general occasions. The pleasure dance has linkages to the ancestors too, but is a lighter version of the business dance, which is deliberately performed to heal the sick or to put a curse on a person. Whichever dance is enacted, however, the involvement of the ancestors is central, as Foowa, a local Maroon dancer, reveals:

‘When I am dancing, sometimes the spirits come in my body and dance with me and talk different languages and stuff. It’s like, I get into spirit and start dance and do a lot of things that I could not do myself. It happens all the time. The spirits are the ancestors; people that have died can come into your body and dance with you. They talk in different languages, like Twi. I have got no control at

all. It is an experience when I dance. When they are inside of you, you don't know. You just feel different. I think it is natural. We don't call them ghosts; it is the ancestors. They just want to have a good time like we are having a good time, so they just find a body and come in, and have a good time too. I only dance pleasure. I have never been in a business dance before. Business dance is what you do when you are trying to heal someone. A business dance is serious; it is when they call down the ancestors. Like everything else, you have a good side and a bad side; I only do the good bit to enjoy myself. Someone, like have to be sick. Like today, I do the Kromanti dance, which is for pleasure, but sometimes the ancestors do come in. I think it is the drumming and the rum too, because we blow the rum. It is like when you are really having fun, when the interaction between the group is really intense, the drumming, the rum, the singing and the dancing. When certain types of music play, it draws them in, because, may be, it was their favourite type of music. It is a very powerful tool. There is a picture of a guy in the museum who was healed by the Kromanti drum' (Foowa, 9 November 2011).

Foowa's evidence is an important intangible feature in the promotion of Charles Town as a cultural enclave. A major pursuit of tourists is to experience the 'other' (see Chapter Two) and the history, heroics and spirituality of the Maroons are distinctive and appealing. Ideas of being possessed by the ancestors not only fuels this imagination, but also relates to time, place and history. The fact Foowa expresses a natural state of being and powerlessness over her actions when she dances with the ancestors suggests her conduct is, perhaps, rooted in 'preconscious' 'patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving'. Possession by the ancestors usually occurs during intense interactions, which supports this contention appending the notion that dancing and drumming performances awaken memories and emotions that are part of her subconscious. At the same time, the practice manifests a desire for 'cohesiveness and sameness'. Foowa's evidence appears driven by a need to identify and belong to her ancestors with who she shares the same way of seeing and believing. Being possessed by them provides internal comfort and feelings of psychological and emotional wellbeing.

Performing with abandon is Foowa's way of sharing these fulfilling experiences with others, be they an audience of tourists or by way of passing on her skills to young people. The significance of this revelation is that it offers insights into the meanings culture holds for Maroon descendants and how it is acted out and made real through dancing and drumming. Knowledge of these processes adds to understanding of the Maroon descendants' way of life and illustrates how cultural traditions are kept alive through practices such as dancing and drumming. This suggests that for notions of sustainability to take hold among the Maroons, they have to become intertwined with aspects of their culture. For, as Foowa adds, dancing means much more than simply performing for tourists:

'I have been dancing since before I knew myself. Dancing is just expressing yourself. You are just expressing feelings. Sometimes when I am dancing, my body is just free, I am just dancing, doing everything, no pain, nothing; it is like the inside of me just coming out. It is like bearing my soul. I want people to see, see that I am not doing anything bad. It is my culture, I am proud of it, so I do it for fun. I do it to carry on my culture. A lot of young people don't know about the dancing. Sometimes we have schools come in, we have ring games, tour of the museum and show them how to dance and stuff. It is basically, carrying on the culture. The younger ones are going to know about it, so will tell their children, who will tell their children and so, it will go on and on and on' (Foowa, 9 November 2011).

At the age of 24, Foowa is considered a seasoned dancer. She started at ten following in a long-line of Maroon descendants who started dancing at an early age. Some of those in the current troupe are as young as four-years-old. Such early inculcation suggests that if ideas are implanted in the young they can take hold and become culturally ingrained and, therefore, sustainable (see Chapter Two). Yaayaa, who at 97 is the oldest Maroon descendant in Charles Town, provides more compelling evidence. She too began dancing at an early age. Yaayaa, who still lives in the same house where she was born, danced until she was 19. Her parents had been urging her to quit from when she was 14 fearing

for her emotional state due to the trance-like disposition brought on by the spiritual fugue, which manifests when she dances with the ancestors. Reliving her dancing days, Yaayaa's evidence bears remarkable similarities to Foowa's, which further reinforces ideas of sustainability. Yaayaa explains:

'In Maroon culture, it is two dance; one is a business and one is a pleasure. I danced business. The pleasure, anybody can dance. The business, you keep quiet, that's the one I used to dance. I tell you something, when you danced; they have the drum; the long drum (Kromanti), the gumbé, the kwat and the printing. It's five-pieces that make Maroon music, and when you start to dance, you can go climb any tree, you can go in any cemetery, but, at that time, the spirit, they take over you, and you don't have any sense...I don't know how to put it...you're not yourself. I am not (Yaayaa) then, I am 'old man', the person that dances on you. I am not (Yaayaa) and you couldn't come and call me (Yaayaa), you have to seh, 'old man': 'wha happen old man?' 'Old man so and so, and I would say, 'so so so' in the Maroon language. If you danced pleasure, you just danced pleasure, but when you dance business, and I was very bad in it and I decided to stop. My mother decided to stop me; they say I was too young. I was 13,14. You invoked the spirit and the spirit danced in you and I don't know you, you're not my friend, but, I say to you, 'Tom come and dance tonight' and when I start to dance, you have fe run'. You are my best friend and I don't know you. When I come back to, now, 'I say staap: how come you didn't come to the dance' and you say, 'I was there' and I say, 'no, no, no, I would have seen you'. You are my best friend, but I don't know you. It is like somebody take over your body, the spirit take over your body. The drumming invoke the spirit, the drumming, I don't know how it does it. It is a nice feeling, you feel powerful, you feel as if you have power, you can do anything, you can go anywhere. I remembered I was dancing and my teacher came there and I told him to get out, because I was going to kill him. When that take over your body, you have no fear, you walk on bottles, open bottles, the spirit take over your body and take you where you want to go (Yaayaa, 15 November 2011).

The evidence of Foowa may be countered by rationalists, as being the product of innocence and lack of exposure to the wider world. However, Foowa would argue that she frequently uses social media, the internet, watches television, has travelled internationally and regularly engages in dialogue with tourists, who visits her community. Yaayaa's evidence is even more convincing. She has lived away from Charles Town from the age of 19. Some 40 years have been spent in New York, perhaps, earth's greatest metropolis. Yaayaa has also lived in Kingston, Jamaica and other parts of the United States of America. It is not being held aloft that the revelations of the women have been scientifically verified, but nevertheless, experiences they believe to be true and such truths claims are the foundation of indigenous knowledge (see Chapter Four). It would prove incredibly challenging to convince Foowa and Yaayaa that their experiences were not real. They not only support the contention that cultural knowledge is a socially constructed phenomenon, but that once ingrained in the psyche, are hard to shift even after a lengthy period of absence from the milieu of origin. These are clearly reflective of notions of sustainability intimated in the development of rural communities such as Charles Town.

Perhaps, the most intriguing feature of Foowa and Yaayaa's evidence is the sense of being empowered, the feeling of being free. Despite the timespan, the vividness of the outpourings renders them real and contemporary. Feelings of being '*free*' and of being '*powerful*' is a defining feature of the Maroons, who fought fiercely to gain and maintain their freedom. In their trance-like state, Foowa and Yaayaa appear to be reaching out, trying to grasp at something to belong to, a time when the Maroons were independent and free. This sense of place, desire for space, is one in which they are empowered and can act out their wishes, do as they please. Here, they can be one with the ancestors, their people, who are revered for their extraordinary exploits in resisting enslavement and colonialism. This desire, a belonging, zeal to be part of this liberatory movement, is a release, a coming to the fore of the subconscious being. The evidence of the participants illustrate how the Maroon descendants differentiate aspects of their culture based on the meanings it holds for them and, at the same time, to entertain guests.

5.2.2 *The effects of commoditising local culture*

Almost everyone has an opinion on how to develop Charles Town and how to maximise the benefits of local culture. At the same time, there are a number of contradictions about the meanings culture hold for locals and how those involved in the commoditisation process are perceived. While this highlights the varied perspectives of Charles Town's development by culture and tourism, it also shows the need for greater understanding of the factors involved at the local level. This relates particularly to those in Charles Town, who do not appear to directly benefit from the commoditisation of Maroon culture. The perceived beneficiaries are accused of money making and not sharing the proceeds with the wider community and of watering down the Maroon culture exposing what is sacrosanct. In some quarters, there is talk of them being in '*conflict*' with the wider community, acting '*selfish*' and not being '*community oriented*'. Many of the descendants of the Maroons have become accustomed to this charge and one they continue to find difficult to reconcile. Even among some Maroon descendants emotions run high, as one focus group participant propounds:

'Personally, from my understanding the things that the Maroons are doing now is not fit to my standard that I see my fore-parents doing, so there and then I keep myself out, because while I know what my fore-parents were doing. It was supposed to be private and not to be exposed and what I see them doing now is exposing certain things that are not supposed to be exposed outside of our culture so, therefore, I keep myself away. For instance, you have a Maroon dance, it's supposed to be private. No outsider should be there. Certain things that is said there, outsiders should not know. It is supposed to be private, supposed to be secret and they are taking it out, carrying it out, exposing it to the wider world where it is not supposed to be. When I was growing up, as a child, and my fore-parents they organised, you had a thing that they call abeng, when they blow it, it's a meaning for meeting, if somebody is sick or, for instance, somebody die or an emergency, they blow the abeng. Now they blow it on every occasion, which I am not use to it. ('Not sure what it is being blown for', another focus group

participant chips in). *When I was growing up, I know the different types of blowing, the different meanings, so, if I hear the abeng blow, I know that somebody is sick or an emergency or something like that. Now, I hear them blow it on every occasion, it is not supposed to be ('So it lose its sacredness' - another focus group participant adds). So there and then I know it is not supposed to be that way so I just take myself one side. Yes, it can be exposed to certain extent. There are certain things they are not supposed to do. Yes, they can go out and show them that this is a Maroon dance and stuff, but there are things that they are doing that is not supposed to be taken outside of their community. Yes, they can blow the abeng like you telling them (tourists), 'welcome', that is okay, but extending it to say other things that it means, because if you blow the abeng they are gonna ask you what it means or you tell them, 'welcome' and then blow something else. You have to tell them what it means and they are not supposed to expose it - that's my personal feelings about it. When they do that, it kinda, aam, water it down, because they not to supposed to know certain things about our culture. When you do that, they are going to dig deeper to find out more about our culture, what is going? I feel they do things that they are not supposed to expose'* (Descendant of Maroons, who participated in Charles Town Focus Group, 14 November 2011).

Even though the Charles Town focus group participant insisted the evidence was from a personal perspective, other members felt the concerns echoed those of the wider community. There are aspects of the evidence that is clearly contradictory. Earlier in the meeting, several members of the group, including this participant, affirmed that they believed the Maroon culture was too strong, dynamic and resistive to be watered down. They argue the influx of tourists into the community would have little effect on their own way of life. Yet, a more percipient appraisal reveals this is not strictly the case. The focus group participant is not advocating outright opposition to the commoditisation of the Maroon culture, as it is believed some exploitation can be beneficial for income generation, exposure to other peoples, etc.

What is being emphasised is the degree of commoditisation. The suggestion is commoditisation is acceptable if aspects are demarcated for locals and tourists. In other words, certain practices can be revealed that will give outsiders a taste of the Maroon way of life, be informative and to aid communication between different cultures. However, sacred traditions should remain hidden from outsiders. Furthermore, differentiating the way Maroon culture is offered for consumption and what is held back, means the aspects that tourists consume would still be authentic. For example, the genuine abeng instrument is used to welcome visitors, but the performance would be different from those, which relay notice of deaths, emergencies, etc.

The differentiation of cultural traditions in Charles Town correlates with Goffman's (1959) notion of front stage back stage of impression management, where there are different performances for tourists and locals. Even though it is the same abeng, it is sounded differently when tourists are present (front stage) compared to when only locals are around (back stage). The commoditisation process is thus pluralised in that the descendants of the Maroons are able to vary aspects of their culture by preserving the deeper more meaningful aspects or darker side for their own consumption and offering the light or lighter versions to outsiders. In this way, they can hold back the dimensions of their culture they do not wish to share with others.

Even though the contention will always be 'how deep is deep', notions of commoditising Maroon culture, expressed by the focus group participant, to some extent, parallel with those of the Maroon Council's. However, from the outset the group had faced opposition to their attempts to exploit the Maroon culture to help develop their community. By pluralising the commoditisation process, they have tried to appease their detractors.

'We needed something to move on. We needed to see something and, so, we started and then a lot of persons start licking out, 'Me na go Maroon group'. 'Maroon group dis...and you know you selling out your culture and all a dat'. We are saying no, is not selling your culture, but if that is where you can get help from to build your community, then you go there and get the help, otherwise

culture isn't worthwhile. There are things that you are not going to expose then, but the enjoyment side of that, you go ahead and share it. Because they do have times when they just beat the drum and dance for pleasure, so you are just doing pleasure' (Etana, 15 November 2011).

Etana's evidence underlines the paradox of Charles Town. Everyone agrees unemployment is the biggest concern in the community, yet those who exploit the Maroon culture, which has the greatest job creating prospects, are constantly subjected to criticism for attempting to take advantage of its possibilities. Members of the Maroon Council rejected claims the wider community was not benefitting. They argued that local people needed to be more proactive in coming forward to make the most of the opportunities that result from their activities. Listening to both parties, one draws the impression that the arguments are primarily about jostling for positions rather than a real debate about community development. Indications from Etana that some of their detractors have expressed interest in joining the Maroon Council, but only as leader and '*dat caan work*', she insists.

5.3 Challenges facing community based tourism in Charles Town

5.3.1 The divisive effects of community tourism development

Even though Charles Town was in desperate need of livelihood strategies, turning to tourism was met by criticism, as Etana explains:

'Some of us decided; some start to lick out. They did not agree, because, to them, it would be selling the Maroon culture. Not having the foresight den to see ahead; to see that if we can really get the help to build the community, it would be better for our children and grandchildren. A few of us decided and we started out with a lot of opposition' (Etana, 15 November 2011).

One of the Maroon descendants' main detractors is Kisi, a senior figure in a rival Charles Town community group. Initially, Kisi had been part of a homogeneous Charles Town development group. However, the Maroon descendants felt the organisation was more of a talking shop than actually getting development work done. They broke away to form the Maroon Council. The split has been very acrimonious and personal, as Kisi explains:

'We should be working very closely with the Maroon Council and it is not happening. We don't know what is happening with the council. It (Kisi's group) is not to interfere or to dictate what is supposed to be done; it is to assist in whatever you are doing in the development of the community. I think Abeni understands it and don't want to accept it that there are other persons who can get things done. I don't know, I see their thing as some income-generating organisation. The concern we have is that they have used the community to sell us. Fine, nothing is wrong with that, but to us the community must see some benefit from that. What we had asked them to do, is to each time they raise any form of funds, is to put five per cent in an account for the community. We have a welfare committee and sometimes we need some help with the shut-ins of the welfare committee. We always have to be going out there on our own and spending our own money to do it, but if you generate income through the community and you put five per cent, we can always come and say, 'Mr Brown need some medication', you understand. 'Mr Brown will need \$200 (£1.29p) to take him to the hospital or something like that' and I don't think that's a bad idea. I think we kind a not agreeing on that level with them. Not just that, I think, as I said, the main problem is dat they don't see us as what we say. All right, we are saying, we are there to assist. I think, the group (Maroon Council) sees us as a threat, you understand; that we might be the one taking over and that is not what we are and we don't want to do that. We just want to know that if it comes to it, that we have to defend you as a community, we can, you understand, and if there is something we can assist in doing. Look at the museum: the museum has been there for a while. It was funded by CHASE (Culture, Health, Arts, Sports and Education) and all a dat. It need to be upgraded and I am saying, you are making

funds from it and I think some of those must be spent to upgrade de place and facelift de place. Now, I guess, those are the things they don't like with our group, because we are here to ensure that whatever development is whatever' (Kisi, 15 November 2011).

Kisi's flagrant disregard for the Maroon Council, in particular Abeni, she says is no secret in Charles Town and, perhaps, beyond. She is not afraid to mince her words and many times during our meeting, she affirmed that whatever she says about Abeni and the Maroon Council to me, she would be happy to repeat to them in person. Even though she claims to be a Maroon descendant, she lambasts them at every opportunity. At times, it pains her to refer to the group by its proper name and calls it a '*thing*'. Nearly every utterance is loaded with an attack on the Maroon descendants and Abeni. The notion that her group is audited and properly constituted is stated as an indication that the Maroon Council was not. Furthermore, her group is non-profit making, while the Maroon Council exists merely as the '*income-generating organisation*'. Kisi dismisses the Maroon Council as a '*family thing*' with everyone benefiting apart from the wider community. She accuses Abeni of being divisive and of profiteering in the Maroons' name.

The upshot of this contention between the two main groups in Charles Town is that it conflicts with the development of the community. It is clear that Charles Town is rich in culture, which holds great possibilities for its development. However, the power struggle between the groups limits this likelihood. Even though the conflicts appear of a personal nature, evidence suggests they stem from the perception of the Maroon descendants reaping financial benefits from tourism. In a community of limited resources, the dispute reinforces assertions of 'tourism being a divisive force' (Cole 2006: 95). It is within this context that Etana defends Kisi's attacks with equal ardour:

'Seeing the tourists' stop, they feel dat there is a lot of money making from this. There is not a lot of money making from it. They (the tourists) will pay for the tour of the museum and, yes, they eat food. The greater portion (of the payment) would be for the food dat is prepared, which Abeni does not prepare the food; they get

the tour of the museum and the drumming. So, dat is where they keep saying dat money is making down there and nobody know where it is going or wat has been done with it. Yes, money can be made. It is there for the community. There is no barrier or no hindrance. Get your goods; set yourself in the right position dat you can achieve from it, because they can achieve from it. Getting things to sell the tourist, making things. We have enough resource in this community dat we can live from, but until the people of this community realise and sees, den there will always be a fuss dat money is making there and they don't know wat is going on with it. I have been there from day one working and am still not making any money there, but it is something dat we dedicate we selves to and it's something dat we want to see go on. Even when we are passed, our children and grandchildren can look back and seh, well, yes; my mother, my grandmother, my grandfather, my aunt, my uncle started this and you know, now, we have something dat we can look back on, and it also helps to keep the culture alive' (Etana, 15 November 2011)

Etana's response is a clear indication of the conflicts that have emerged as they attempt to exploit local culture by way of tourism. While these differences are largely historical and even though both parties are members of the same local group, the fallout caused by the perceived benefits of tourism underlines the fractured relations and power structures that exist in Charles Town (Van der Duim, Peters and Akama 2006). Tourism has added to the various meanings, diversity, heterogeneous social life, interconnections and struggles between 'identity, space and place' of the community (Van der Duim, Peters and Akama 2006: 111).

5.3.2 Power relations that hinder community development

On Tuesday, 15 November 2011, I noted in my field journal.

'It is Tuesday, 15 November 2011 and perfect blue sky. The spectacular mountain range, which dominates the Safu Yard and Maroon Museum complex have a

crystal-like effect in the piercing sunlight. The atmosphere is throbbing with noise and vibrancy. Some 200 school children from another part of the island have not long arrived on six minibuses. Almost in tow are 17 tourists in a mini coach. It is the busiest day since I have been here. There is a sense of collectedness among the Charles Town Maroon descendants. The school children jostle for space on the freshly cut Safu Yard lawn aping various genres of daggering and grinding dance moves. Some appear spellbound by the cacophonic beats of the distinctive Maroon drums. Kobby's instrument, now fully honed after days of sunning, can easily be detected by its eponymic rhythm. A newly erected stall is doing a brisk trade in jelly coconuts and peeled crayfish sugar cane. Another stallholder is making a sales pitch to a tourist for her crocheted dining table set and straw hats (see Figure 5.16). It is the type of milieu Etana and Abeni envisaged, the whole community coming together and profiting from Maroon culture.

A beaming Abeni is making his way towards me. As he nears, I remark how successful the day appears to be progressing and how spruced up the Safu Yard looks. Abeni acknowledges my compliment, but in a way that gives the impression that this is the norm around here. I comment on how different sections of the community appear to be benefiting from the event and that there is no sign of divisiveness. Charles Town is a very small community and news has already reached Abeni that I had been speaking to Kisi earlier. Without any response, he beckons me to follow him. I oblige. He leads me to the middle of the adjoining playing field. He stands there, arms akimbo looking over yonder like an overseer inspecting his vast plantation. As his eyes narrowed surveying the expanse, he turns his head from side to side. The grass surrounding us is so high you can hardly make out the goats grazing nearby. Abeni sighs contemptuously, looks at me, and thunders:

'This is their legacy, okay. They are the ones who are in control of this field. They're the ones who control this field. See it deh. Five million dollars! Five million dollars! Okay! See it deh, it caan use. Use it fe wha? Goat pen? The only

thing anybody has to say is about what I am doing. Nobody has anything to say about what is not being done. See the field deh; dem control dis field. See their legacy deh, see it deh - so don't come talking to me'. With the sound of the drums and singing kicking up a storm in the background, Abeni points towards the Safu Yard: 'See my legacy deh, alright. Listen man, it is a load of crap. An officer for the Social Development Commission (SDC) is telling me that I am not telling people to bring coconuts down here on a Tuesday. I am not telling them on a Tuesday people come here. I must tell people dat on a Tuesday people coming here? You want to tell me that by now Charles Town don't know seh every Tuesday people come ya? From you have been here, every Tuesday, don't you see people come here? This has been going on for over a year and dem don't know seh people coming here on a Tuesday? It's fuckries she's talking about. Is jus wanting to mek me look like, oh, I am not participating in and I am not, okay'' (Field journal, Tuesday 15 November 2011).

There is no doubt Abeni has been enraged by the fingers being pointed at him and today is not the day for wagging. He is clearly fuelled by the ongoing success of the day - 200 students, tourists, stallholders doing a roaring trade, the Safu Yard complex in tip-top shape and glorious sunshine. He needs little encouragement to vent his frustrations. If his detractors have questions about what he is achieving in the community, a day like this is his ideal answer. Just being at the Safu Yard today and witnessing the spectacle would be enough to convince even his most ardent critic of his success. When you have something to seize on like the poorly maintained playing field, whose upkeep is the responsibility of Kisi's group, it becomes all too easy to be bullish. Even though Kisi herself acknowledges the terrible condition of the playing field, claiming it had been vandalised by a member of the Maroon descendants' group, it is an opportunity that Abeni relishes. Here is a clear contrast between his contribution to the development of Charles Town and that of Kisi's group. The playing field has become the latest in a long line of bones of contentions between them. Kisi is clearly struggling with the upkeep of the field, which was last mowed some eight months ago, but she is adamant that she would prefer for it to become a 'woodland' than for Abeni to take control of it.

The fractious nature of relationships in Charles Town is representative of community development more broadly (see Chapter Two). They are highly complex and contradictory. The implication is that there are different tiers of existence and influence in the community. For example, the same way Abeni manages to get the Safu Yard lawn mowed, he could get the playing field grass cut. After all, the field belongs and is enjoyed by the whole community, not just Kisi's group. However, the struggles between the two prevent this type of collaboration, which means the entire community loses out. Local youths, who want to play football, now have to travel a mile away to use a nearby school playing field. The situation reinforces notions of a monopolisation of 'power and knowledge' by local elites (Van der Duim, Peters and Akama 2006: 117), which exacerbate divisions in the community and make it difficult for locals to unite and work together. Arguments between locals in Charles Town also mean not everyone benefits from tourism like they could. There were complaints by some locals that the Maroon descendants did not give them notice of events taking place at the Safu Yard and museum, although this was disputed. It means development of the community is uneven and the potential of tourism unrealised with different sets of people and individuals resenting each other. Furthermore, it hinders communication, which means more might be read into a situation than there really is.

With the number of visitors in attendance at the Safu Yard and Maroon Museum complex on a day like this, it is easy to see why there exists a perception of money making. Figures supplied by the Maroon descendants show each tourist paid US\$10 (£6.51), five for food and the other five dollars to visit the museum. The money for the museum tour is used to pay the tour guide and the dancers, who can number up to six on some days and the four or five drummers who make up the entertainment team. The number of tourists varies from day to day, which means it is hard to determine an exact income. During my time in Charles Town, the average number of tourists on the mini coaches ranged between 12-17. On some days, there would only be one coach and on others, two and, once, I witnessed three. Tour days are mainly Tuesdays and Thursdays and each trip lasts around one hour. The tourists are usually making their way back from their tour of the

Blue Mountains when they stop in Charles Town. On Tuesday, 1 November 2011, I noted in my field Journal:

‘It is 12.55pm. The sun is at its most fierce. Even a shade is not enough to ease the heat. However, the gentle breeze ruffling the leaves under the tree I am sitting does provide some relief. We are at the Safu Yard awaiting the arrival of tourists. I am with Efua, her mum Etana and a family friend, who will help to serve the food to the tourists when they arrive. Kobby and four other drummers are waiting too. There are two other guys in the kitchen preparing the food. I can hear the voice of a woman in the kitchen, but I can’t make out, who it is.

After spending all of the morning preparing and waiting, a mini coach pulls in. The pregnant tour guide is the first to alight followed by eight tourists of European extraction. One wears a t-shirt emblazoned, ‘Jamaica No Problem’. It is a Caribic Vacations group. Efua welcomes them to the Safu Yard and then leads them to the museum where she enthralls with tales of the Maroons explaining the symbolisms behind the artefacts, as she goes along. The tourists seem engaged by her explanations. I can hear drumming outside; the drummers are warming up (see Figure 5.17). The sound adds an authentic feel to Efua’s elucidations. She is weaving modern and ancient tales about the Maroons and Jamaica. She tells them about the ‘*to you, to me saw*’, used by her predecessors to cut wood; the use of straw and mud to make structures and the paki gourd to drink from, store and carry water. By the end, all the tourists seem enthused, as we head to the Safu Yard. When we reach there, another group of eight tourists is seated to one side (see Figure 5.18). They came while we were in the museum. The drummers are beating away. Kobby is chanting, ‘*Granny Nanny oh*’ and ‘*walk in deh, walk in deh*’. The group that was in the Safu Yard is now trying the local cuisine in utensils made from paki gourd. The group is middle aged. They are sipping a local mix fruit drink of June plums, ginger and passion fruit served in cups carved out of coconut shells. The only modern utensils on show are forks. None of the tourists I had accompanied to the museum left a contribution for its upkeep. They

are now trying a dish of steamed young green bananas, pumpkin, callaloo (a leaf vegetable of West African origin), carrots and plantain in a coconut 'run down' stew. There are seven Maroon descendants dancing and drumming, four cooking and sharing and one tour guiding. You can see the delight on the faces of the visitors, as they look on and try to copy the actions of the dancers (see Figure 5.19). Sixteen tourists and the Safu Yard come alive with food, drink and entertainment. Spontaneous applause breaks out as the song ends.

The group I accompanied to the museum is from Holland. They are now being encouraged to join in the dancing. The other group is from Germany. The pregnant tour guide, who had asked Etana for some advice, as her unborn baby had not moved for two days, is now all smiles. The drumming has awoken the baby. Now the tour guide cannot believe how much her unborn child is moving. As the drumming continues, the more joyous she becomes at the pronounced movements of her baby. The power of the Maroon drums, a local remarks eerily.

One of the drummers, I was talking to explained that one of the issues in the community is that work was irregular. Everyone has a trade, but there were not enough jobs to go around. There are regular tourist tours on Tuesdays. Today there are 16 people and we are still awaiting another tourist coach. If the tours were more frequent then they would provide consistent income. It is now 3.45pm and the last tour has not yet arrived. Based on my calculations, today's tours have generated US\$160 to be shared between 12 locals for a day's work. Even though it is meagre earnings, more tours like these would ensure a much better source of income for local people. Around 4.35pm, a coach carrying 17 tourists turns up. TUI Thomson operates it. The tourists will only be doing the museum tour. Food is not required, which means a thinning of the income' (Field note journal, Tuesday 1 November 2011).

The Maroon descendants welcome other ad-hoc tours and visits such as school trips and hiking tours, which are all too infrequent. They also perform at various functions and

events locally, nationally and internationally. Commoditising their culture is in its infancy and not as profitable as they would like it to be or, as it, perhaps, appears to be. Anyone present to witness them receiving three coaches with 33 tourists, like they did on 1 November or seven coaches with school children and tourists two weeks later would hold the impression of money making. This, however, does not appear to be the norm and I have witnessed days when only one coach turns up with 13 tourists, who only want the museum tour. It seems some groups choose to include food as part of the package while others don't. It is difficult to determine whether tour operators influenced such decisions.

With little other work available in Charles Town, reliance on tourist tours as a sole form of income is very tenuous. Whether enough money from these tours can be set-aside for repair and renovation work to the museum and Safu Yard is debatable. The most tourists I have witnessed in one day were 33, who paid US\$5 each for the museum, which works out at US\$165. Shared between nine people - five dancers and four drummers - each received around US\$18 (£11.75). Compared to the average local daily wage it might seem a decent sum, but it might be all that that person earns in a week. Assessing the income generation of the Maroon descendants in this way makes it hard for them to take criticism that they are profiting from local culture and tourism and no one else in the community is benefitting or that the money is not being reinvested. At the same time, in a community where some people only earn J\$1, 500 (£9.71) a week, an income of J\$1,800 a day can appear a substantial sum.

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Figure 5.16 Examples of local handcraft (Taylor 2011)

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Figure 5.17 Maroon drummers in action (Taylor 2011)

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Figure 5.18 Tourists seated in Safu Yard, Charles Town (Taylor 2011)

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Figure 5.19 Tourists joining in the action with Maroon dancers (Taylor 2011)

5.3.3 Meanings of community development in Charles Town

Exploiting the abundance of intangible and tangible cultural heritage has been a perpetual challenge for Charles Town Maroon descendants. There has been progress, but it has been limited and largely dogged by tensions, mistrust, poor judgments and political conflicts involving actors from the local community, government and development agencies. Literature suggests that unless local actors are equipped with the ideological tools to exploit local culture resources, their endeavours will founder (see Chapter Two). Of particular concern are operational strategies and expertise, which are necessary to gain an advantage in the marketplace and policy arena. Deficiencies in these areas were uncovered by this study in Charles Town. They appeared most acute in the management of the Charles Town Herb Gallery and Garden (see figures 5.20 and 5.21), a project set-up by IICA with funding from the Jamaica government and the European Union. Evidence of the failings were highlighted by various local actors, but particularly by an international community tourism development volunteer Toby, who was assigned to work with IICA in Charles Town. At the time of the interview, Toby had been based in the community for 18-months. He explained that the Charles Town Herb Gallery and Garden was the latest in a long line of missed opportunities to develop sustainable local community projects. The respondent cites the project as an example of why community development in Jamaica was doomed. Toby insisted the circumstances surrounding the project were symptomatic of attempts to exploit culture resources in rural communities across Jamaica. The purpose of highlighting his claims, therefore, is to give a synopsis of the challenges of developing rural communities on the island.

The Charles Town Herb Gallery and Garden (see figures 5.20 and 5.21) was launched in 2009 in a fanfare attended by high-profile Jamaica government officials, IICA representatives and residents with vested interest in the project and those, who simply turned up to pass the time. The garden was seen as a catalyst in IICA's heralded Buff Bay Valley Agro-tourism project, which was funded by the Jamaica government and European Union's Rural Diversification Programme. The Jamaican government's amount was not documented, but the European Union grant was J\$35.8 million (£233,308) (IICA

2009). ‘*Tourism Married to Agriculture*’, proclaimed the headline in the *Inside IICA Jamaica Quarterly* brochure following the event’s launch (IICA 2009). ‘*Today we are here to witness the marriage of Maas Agri and Miss Tour,*’ exclaimed a somewhat animated Amina Blackwood-Meeks, director of culture in the Jamaica government’s education ministry. The official felt her analogy was the ‘*simplest way to wrap your head around the notion of agro-tourism*’ (IICA 2009).

The herb gallery and garden was a pilot project with funding earmarked for a year. It was being rolled out as a blueprint for rural community development across Jamaica, it was claimed, because of its ‘natural synergy’ with tourism (IICA 2009). The site featured a nursery and a drying space to produce, display, process and sell the more than 200 ‘ethno medicinal herbs’ found locally to hotels along the popular north coast of the island (ibid 2009). Althea Heron, from the Ministry of Tourism, told the gathering the garden was the beginning of a new dawn in Jamaica for community tourism, which had been in the shadow of the ‘*sand and sea all-inclusive getaway model of Caribbean tourism*’ for too long (ibid 2009). ‘The market itself is demanding greater ‘authentic contact’ between the visitor and the host community, while the visitors are becoming more aware of the impact of their visit on the host community and the environment’ (ibid 2009). However, despite the big speeches, the glitzy launch and the huge financial investment, within two years, the marriage ended acrimoniously.

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Figure 5.20 Charles Town Herb Garden at its launch (IICA 2009)

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Figure 5.21 Charles Town Herb Garden two years later (Taylor 2011)

In a tour of the site in November 2011, the once pristine garden resembled semi-woodland engulfed in 10ft overgrowth (see figures 5.20 and 5.21). Hailed by IICA as a ‘comprehensive agro-tourism model for Jamaica’ (IICA 2009), the herb gallery and garden was now a grazing pasture for goats, cows and donkeys. Boarding etched with the

names of herbs such as pepper mint, black mint, colon mint, semi contract, leaf of life, fresh cut, strong back and dog blood are barely visible among the thorns. The garden was established to reflect the Maroons' attachment and reliance on nature for sustenance, health remedies and survival. With no upkeep, it has succumbed to neglect. Netting and other structures, which gave the impression of a well-designed and constructed facility, were rusting or torn down.

Blame for the demise of the garden is dependent on to who you speak. Some say it was the fault of the Charles Town Young Farmers, who were left in charge; the descendants of Maroons, because they never had control; IICA for short-term financing and the local Charles Town Benevolent Society for causing contention by trying to take over running of the project. Everyone pointed the finger at someone else. Toby, who was designated to provide administrative training and support, believed that if a project like the garden, which had such strong connections to the culture and natural environment of the people of Charles Town could not succeed, then little else would. It was proof, he argued, of the malaise that inhibited the exploitation of local culture resources, not just in Charles Town, but also across Jamaica. In an emotional and disturbing outburst, Toby condemned Jamaicans and the idea of community development.

'It just gets mashed up. Mismanagement, it is the story of Jamaica. There is a very small minority of Jamaicans; most of them don't have a clue. They don't have the skills for economic development; it just gets mashed up. No vision forward. I could be totally off base on this. Here is what's happening, the Jamaican culture is not independent; this is really me going out on a limb here. A lot of them blame it back on colonialism. It might just be that, that begging mentality that what I get today is for today and I don't think about tomorrow. It satisfies my immediate wants, but never looking forward to the future. It's an excuse, all right. It's not a viable reason to me; it's an excuse. In the US, it's the puritan work ethic; it's very strong; that's not here. It's my culture I grew up in, which is ingrained - it's not so much anymore with the younger generation - is you work for today, you save for tomorrow. I don't see that here. As for why it happens, I don't know. The only

thing I can think of, and, as I say, I could be totally off, and why it has not been thrown aside is beyond me; go back to the plantation slavery time when everything was given to you. You never had to worry about tomorrow, because it was all brought forward. Mental slavery. This starts to sound racist, but when the British left, instead of Jamaicans picking it up and carrying it on, they looted it. It's all too immediacy. It's nothing looking to the future. It's the immediacy of the moment. It's the same thing when Crystal Springs (eco-park resort in Port Antonio, Portland) closed down, they stole all the electric, they stole all the plumbing. It is a sad situation. I mean no one can go in there now and put it back together, because they have thieved out the infrastructure and the amount of money it would take to do that, you could never do that in a million years. Here is the problem with Jamaica; it is the 'me' versus 'we' mentality. It is all about me. Satisfy my wants and needs and everyone else goes by the wayside, doesn't concerns me. If it happens that they get something good that's fine, but the first thing that gets satisfied is me and that's why community development is not gonna work in Jamaica. It is never gonna happen. Jamaica is the hardest posting in ... (name of his organisation excluded for identification purposes). Right now there's 70 volunteers; a new group just came in and most or all of us are totally frustrated, because nothing goes forward. We come here with hopes of assisting and trying to move forward. If you went out there and talk to 99 per cent of the volunteers, they'll tell you the same thing, it's the 'me' versus 'we' mentality' (Toby, 15 November 2011).

Toby's evidence is revealing, not only because of its simplistic appraisal of what is, clearly, a complex set of circumstances, but it also gives a snapshot of the mindset of international volunteers and their frustrations when faced with challenging community development work. Use of terms such as 'con artists', 'pure laziness', 'corruption', 'stealing' and 'lack of cultural morality' suggests entrenched attitudes and superiority complex that cast grave doubts on impartiality, questions of trust and ethics. Even more disturbing, is the alleged pervasiveness of such sentiment among international volunteers. As Ray (2001) notes, what constitutes local needs and the strategies required to address

them are usually defined by sponsoring organisations and groups. If locals, who do not adhere to such prescriptiveness or worldviews, are then held as anarchic, it suggests their interpretations and input are of little value or significance.

The contentiousness of community development is well documented and rural tourism initiatives are no different (see Chapter Two). Giampiccoli and Kalis (2012) have highlighted obstacles and challenges such as traditional power struggles, which are evident in Charles Town. Furthermore, they underline the dearth of knowledge and awareness of the tourism industry; limited marketing skills and uneven access to opportunities that are likely to exist among people in the community (Giampiccoli and Kalis 2012). External pressures are usually brought to bear on communities such as Charles Town where issues of 'governance' and structure, 'conflicting stakeholder agendas, jealousies and internal power struggles' can lead to pseudo 'hierarchies and elites' (Simpson 2008: 13). Not giving regard to 'power and decision making between and within community groups' and 'ruling some people in' and some out can aggravate tensions in communities (Cole 2006: 95). Moreover, in communities where colonialism has prevailed over a long period, people lacked the motivation to take the lead or make decisions (Cole 2006). At the same time, research has shown that communities cannot be considered homogeneous, but fluid entities that are often fragmented in relation to age, kinship, religion, gender, colour, background, education, wealth, sense of place, beliefs and traditions (Van der Duim, Peters and Akama 2006). Communities are constantly changing reflecting political, social, economic and development influences, relationships and groupings; all of which characterise life in Charles Town. The fact the issues Toby raised fall within these contexts, suggest limited awareness of the operation and function of communities more broadly. In reflection, such jaundiced outpourings would do little to aid the development of a diverse and complex community like Charles Town.

During the interview, Toby was adamant that community development would never work in Jamaica, because local people's attitude and behaviour were too ingrained, which meant it was, therefore, cultural. The project seems to have operated a top down approach with senior government and aid group officials turning up to make big speeches and then

disappear. There was no noticeable address from any local resident or official at the opening of the herb garden or any real sign of co-operation with them. With little local involvement, it suggests the community clearly did not identify with the garden or felt it belonged to them. Unless local developments are intertwined with local people and their way of life, they are unlikely to be sustainable (see Chapter Two).

In small communities such as Charles Town, outsiders like Toby may argue the case for individuals uniting and working together to enjoy ‘joint benefits’ (Henrich et al. 2005: 832). Such an evaluation could be a misreading of the role of culture and a failure to appreciate the creativity and adaptability of people and the challenges they face (ibid 2005). Culture should not be viewed as the ‘iron box determining outcome’ (ibid 2005: 832). Given time and opportunity, locals will develop their own rules, build trust and understanding for resolving their problems, establishing an economy and protecting their resources (ibid 2005). Outsiders can hinder this process by parachuting into local communities such as Charles Town and attempting to impose their will and way of doing things on locals. The indigenous population is then expected to support and be part of this process even if they disagree and have little or no input. At the same time, if a project fails they and their culture are likely to be blamed. This scenario bears striking similarities with the development of the Charles Town Herb Gallery and Garden. Zapata et al. (2011) argue that there is a low life expectancy of community based tourism projects when external funding ends. Such projects tend to be successful when there is full community ownership and operation, locals have a stake and are able to recognise the tangible and intangible benefits (Giampiccoli and Kalis 2012). Toby’s claim that community development will never work in Jamaica is, therefore, a universalist conception, which is easily contradicted by the neighbouring Maroon Museum and Safu Yard, which attract hundreds of visitors a year. Even though the development has received external funding, it is solely managed and controlled by the local Maroon Council.

5.4 Visions for the future

5.4.1 *Maximising the benefits of Charles Town's rich culture resources*

Etana believes the success of exploiting Maroon cultural heritage was down to the appointment of Abeni. He has been responsible for maintaining the momentum of development altering the fortunes of the district from a moribund Maroon community into a thriving cultural enclave. The development could be considered to be still in its infancy and much more could be done to ensure more locals benefited. On Friday 4th November 2011, I noted in my field journal:

‘After waiting most of the day, 13 tourists from Holland arrived around 3pm and spent around 45 minutes in total. They were only booked for a tour of the museum, drinks and entertainment. They did not want food and only the tour guide, dancers and drummers were needed. It seems the tourists don't spend long enough in Charles Town for other local people to benefit. When they arrived, they got off the bus and made their way straight to the museum a few yards away. After the tour, they head back to the bus. The tourists appeared fascinated with their surroundings and judging by the way they tried to strike up conversations with the drummers and dancers, they seemed keen to want to find out a bit more about the local culture, but the time was not enough. I asked the guide accompanying the visitors about the possibility of the tourists spending more time, even overnight, in the community. She replied that the accommodation would need to be up to the standard the tourist desired. If we were talking about a hotel in Charles Town, she said, it would cost a lot of money to establish and there was no guarantee of visitors or what the frequency of their visit might be. If it was a local guesthouse, she said, it would also have to be up to scratch. After the visit, the local Charles Town Maroon guide said it was the tour company, which set the parameters for the trip and the service required from them. *‘If they say 30 minutes, we have to ensure that we comply with what is recommended,’* she said. (Field journal, Friday 4 November 2011)

Members of the focus group believed there needed to be more effort to make the most of tourists' visit to Charles Town. They argued attractions such as Orange Vale, Crawford Town and Sambo Hill (see Figure 2.7) required infrastructure improvements so that their full potential could be realised. They agreed community tourism could help to boost the economy of the community, initiate infrastructure improvements and expose local people to other cultures. However, the overall feeling was community unity and better organisation were vital if these objectives were to be achieved enabling them to tap into government and other support systems. Members of the Charles Town focus group claim:

'There is a division between the Maroon Council and the community itself. It has been going on for quite a while and it is not really coming together. The community needs the Maroons to join forces with the community to develop the area. It is accepted that it is the Maroon culture that makes Charles Town and we would like to sustain and maintain that. The traditions are strong and it is difficult for them to bend. It is a modern era and not many of them want to go with new trends. They are interested, but it is something that they hold onto very dearly. There is the fear they might lose some of their authentic past, I imagine. It holds back development, because if the community can't have one voice on certain issues, then the community is retarded. For example, on land issues, where land might be needed for development and which the Maroons might oppose' (Charles Town focus group, 14 November 2011).

The observations of the focus group were part of the broader context of Charles Town and should be read within that frame. Some of the participants were members of Kisi's group; none were members of the Maroon Council. Perhaps, the observation of Abina, a non-Maroon schoolteacher, sums up the challenges faced by the community. *'Like in other communities, you will find people who never do anything, but criticise and find fault'*. The Charles Town Maroon descendants are not without shortcomings, but there is little contention that their decision to exploit their culture has galvanised the community and moulded their intangible and tangible cultural heritage into a product that can be traded. There are obviously rifts as there generally are in most communities, but overall

the cultural connections of the Maroon descendants remain strong. Like the focus group participants, others agree it was the linkages to their ancestors, albeit on differentiated levels, that gives the community its distinctiveness and on which its development is predicated. At the same time, these connections enabled frameworks for partnerships with other communities and people who share the same ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. Furthermore, they help reveal the meanings culture hold for the descendants of Maroons in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development and how they capitalised on their intangible and tangible cultural heritage.

5.4.2 *Working towards sustainable goals*

To the Maroon descendants, they are a special cultural entity without which, they claim, Charles Town would not enjoy the recognition it does today. This is certainly true and is the main reason why Etana believes there should be greater focus on sustaining their heritage for present and future generations. She explains:

‘It is for us to keep the culture alive by handing it down to our youngsters. There is something special about being a Maroon. To me, it is special knowing that your fore-parents really fought for freedom. They didn’t take kindly to being enslaved. They wanted to be free. As somebody said, ‘free to think for yourself’; free to do something that you feel is right to do. It is important and knowing that they really fought this way, then, it is only good for us to keep it up and to enforce, to keep it alive that our children can have that as something to look back on. In a more Biblical form, a song says, ‘to roll back the curtain of memory now and then. Show me where you brought me from and where I could have been’. When you look back down the past years and see how your fore-parents were being treated in shackles in bondage, you know, it help you to think positively at what you want to do in life and where you are heading in life, you know to make some really good decisions. So it is important for them to know where they are coming from and the struggles that their fore-parents have passed through’ (Etana, 15 November 2011).

What the evidence of Etana suggests is that the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of Charles Town has far greater significance than generating economic benefit. For the Maroon descendants, culture functions as a mirror to the past that reflects the future. The concept is thus a symbol of resistance, freedom and virtuosity. The idea of being '*free to think for yourself*', indicates not only physical deliverance, but psychological emancipation or being empowered through the processes of liberation. Furthermore, culture provides the foundation for self-assurance, constructive wellbeing and determination (see Chapter Two) or as Etana elucidates, to be able to '*think positively*' about your circumstances and embracing your possibilities, which augurs for good decisions. In grasping the embeddedness of such meanings and interpretations, it becomes evident why the idea of culture arouses the passions it does in Charles Town. The fear of it being watered down for the consumption of visitors, as a focus group participant indicates, is that it could lose this significance. There would be no real basis or platform from which they could make sense of their own existence. This could in turn result in 'cultural homelessness', loss of self-esteem, identity or even moral decline (Hoersting and Jenkins 2010: 17). To counter this, the Maroon descendants differentiate their culture by offering one aspect to tourists and hold back other facets for themselves. Presenting their culture on varying levels the Maroon descendants can appeal to a range of audiences. Moreover, they can build relationships and combine with other similar groups to maximise their earning potential, stage performances or to broaden their appeal.

5.5 Concluding comments

This chapter has examined the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of Charles Town. Despite the complex and contested nature of the debates, the findings reveal an interrelated picture of the operation of culture and tourism in the community. The picturesque vistas surrounding Charles Town, inhabitants' spirituality, identity, sense of place, folklore, history, arts, crafts, traditional cuisine, Twi language, re-enactments,

entertainment, festivals, flora and fauna are all embedded in the culture of the Maroons. It is what gives the community its distinctiveness and from which evolves the cultural heritage resources that are exploited for economic and social wellbeing.

The story of the Maroons is imbued with a strong sense of identity in how they see and express themselves. They hold steadfastly to their linkages to Africa and maintain this connection in ways such as attire, language, drumming, dancing, spirituality, social roles, behaviour, food and other traditional practices. Linkages to the ancestors and their history thus provide them with a sense of who they are, their uniqueness, how they should be in the world and the meanings culture holds for them. Geographically, the Maroon descendants maintain their connectedness to the land, the mountain hideaways of their ancestors and the plants they used for medicine, sustenance, tools and equipment. They further claim it is their presence, which gives Charles Town its distinctiveness. Sense of place thus intertwines with their situatedness. Intangibly, however, as the spiritual dancing of the Maroon descendants reveal, they also belong to a time and place independent of geographical boundaries. It is a place they occupy with their ancestors and in which, they are liberated and empowered. Sense of place, in this context, is an unfettered and disembodied zone. These revelations correlate with notions of belonging, self-esteem, cultural identity and historical continuity.

The extent to which the Maroon descendants capitalised on their intangible and tangible cultural heritage in pursuit of the development of their community can be measured by the success of the Maroon Museum and Safu Yard complex. The vicinity provides a space where the Maroon descendants can display their cultural traditions to outsiders and where they too can interact with each other. Performances are essentially co-creative experiences for both locals and visitors, who are always encouraged to join in activities and often do so with great enthusiasm. However, while the complex is promoted as a site of entertainment for visitors, for locals it holds spiritual significance, a place where they can bond with the ancestors. The most significant purpose of the museum and Safu Yard though is to generate income for local people. However, there is a perception that members of the Maroon Council are the main beneficiaries of the complex and the

advantages are not being shared with the wider community. The Maroon descendants argue that effort was being made to encourage others to become involved, but not many people were seizing the opportunities.

More generally, there is accord that enough was not being done to make the most of openings presented by rural community tourism in the area. Tour providers question the suitability of accommodation in the community that could cater for tourists. Locals complain their efforts were being stymied by lack of infrastructure improvements, which would allow easier access to other remote, but interesting cultural sites in the surrounding area. This would help to attract more tourists and boost local income. At the same time, the wider community could benefit from additional information regarding the exploitation of Maroon culture, otherwise, as the perceived benefits from cultural commoditisation increases, so will the tensions from locals who feel excluded. Furthermore, outsiders seeking to engage with the Maroon descendants need to be aware of the meanings culture holds for them and how they are interlinked with their identity and sense of place. This also applies to past linkages and how these connect to the present. Understanding these perspectives has implications for the economic, environmental and social development of Charles Town. Moreover, they illustrate the importance of intertwining current development strategies with local cultural considerations, which could, perhaps, lead to greater chances of them been maintained. The case study thus adds to knowledge and understanding of the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of Charles Town.

Some of the issues that emerge in this case study are also features of the development of Seaford Town, which is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDY DATA ANALYSIS: SEAFORD TOWN GERMAN DESCENDANTS

THE ‘FORGOTTEN TRIBE OF GERMANY’: KEEPING THE MEMORIES ALIVE THROUGH CULTURE AND TOURISM

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Figure 6.22 A Seaford Town German descendant poses with a photograph of his ancestors for a German publication (copied by Taylor 2011)

Cameo

Seaford Town Germans

By Helen Bunnaman

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6.0 Introduction

Helen Bunnaman's emotional outpouring embodies the challenges that shaped the lives of the German descendants of Seaford Town. It is a poetic imagination, which suggests the trauma endured by their fore-parents is still etched in their psyche. Efforts to expunge this mental baggage have led to the extreme action of eschewing allegiances to Germany and reconstructing a new identity with the African descendants who stood by their predecessors when they first arrived in Seaford Town in December 1835. However, in their attempts to overcome persistent socioeconomic challenges, brought about by the demise of farming, the German descendants are seeking to capitalise on the story of their ancestors' uprooting from Germany and subsequent difficulties adapting to life in the rugged Jamaican interior. The episode is seen as the most viable economic option for new livelihood streams and now forms the basis of attempts to sustainably develop their community by way of culture and tourism. With close proximity to Montego Bay, the

island's tourism capital, taking advantage of their intangible and tangible cultural heritage holds out much hope for the deprived community.

Revisiting the past, however, is provoking a sentient re-evaluation of meanings of culture, identity and sense of place for the people of Seaford Town. Even though the number of German descendants is now in the minority, for them the community will always be known as 'German Town'. It is where they have reconstructed their lives after, as Bunnaman's verse implies, their foolhardy voyage from Germany. Though a site of hardships and despair, it is still unique and special to the German descendants. There is clearly a strong sense of attachment and belonging to the community. Even some of those who have migrated have re-kindled their association with the community in the form of holiday homes and annual regular visits. Moreover, the Seaford Town German descendants, not only share a geographical attachment to the community, but also a human connection to the African descendants with whom they enjoy close bonds. However, it is a paradoxical relationship, as the newly freed African slaves they had been recruited to guard ended up being their protectors.

As is explicit in Bunnaman's verse, they are no longer Germans, but Jamaicans or to use the local parlance, '*Germaicans*'. This notion encapsulates the robust relationships between German descendants and their African counterparts in Seaford Town and how ingrained their sense of identity and belonging have become. The German descendants believe their cultural heritage and relationships with African descendants are distinctive and the fact they are the only existing rural community in Jamaica inhabited by people of German descent, are strong selling points. However, evidence reveals some of the German descendants are sensitive about revealing aspects of their past, while others believe it is a good way of preserving their rich cultural heritage and will ensure that their attachment to Seaford Town is sustained. Findings indicate that in eschewing ties with Germany, however, the Seaford Town German descendants exhibit signs of emotional and psychological abandonment. It has been claimed they seem lost and are in need of reconnection with their ancestral homeland. This conflicting relationship with their past has clear implications for the commoditisation of their intangible and tangible cultural

heritage. Exploring the complexities of life in Seaford Town adds to existing knowledge regarding the meanings culture holds for them in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to evaluate the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of Seaford Town. This involves examining the meanings culture holds for locals in relation to a sense of place, identity and community-led development and the extent to which they capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism. The chapter is organised in relation to the review of literature in Chapter Two. It is structured using various sub-headings, which are representative of the broader topics of Chapter Two that relates to specificities of social life in the district.

The chapter begins with evidence and observations relating to the status of community based tourism in Seaford Town, followed by explanations regarding the extent of local cultural commoditisation, challenges facing community based tourism and visions for the future.

6.1 Status of community based tourism in Seaford Town

6.1.1 Exploiting the story of their German heritage

The Seaford Town German Heritage Museum may be housed in a small room at the Seaford Town Elementary School, but its artefacts are witness to a much larger testimony. *‘It is the story of their trials and tribulations, but more than that, their courage and the will to survive,’* says a poster, which forms part of a storyboard on the wall of the building. It is the most visible sign of the exploitation of local culture by way of tourism in the community. However, such is the nature of the museum; one cannot distinguish its role as a cultural tourism attraction from that of a social archive and local

culture resource. Vadney, who is 56 and a sixth generation German descendant, gives an insight into the significance of the establishment and its varying roles.

'De purpose a dis museum is to conserve wat is left of the German history, because you can see dat dere are three sets dat came and we are de only ones dat has any history here of de Germans coming. You a some went to Falmouth and some went to St Elizabeth, but dey has no history; no recorded history of wat happened. You go to St Elizabeth; you will find Germans. I was in de Cayman Island and I was sharing a house wid one of dose dat came from St Elizabeth. Well, I diddin (didn't) kno much about my history until I took this, de museum to operate - dat's wen I learnt about my history. Right now, we are sey (saying) 'out of many, we are one'. If you look around you will see dat really we are out of one, because we intermix with each other. You just left my house and you saw two of my grand kids, you see dat one is whey you wud call de chawklit (chocolate) colour and de other one is a fairer version and dey are de same father, but two separate madders (mothers). Our German ancestry was not handed down to us. It was a priest dat came here dat sed we are here and we didn't know why we were here, how we got here, so he went on to dig into de history of our ancestors and dis is wat he has left with us.

'I don't know if others' parents had, but my parents hadn't explained anything to me. I think because dey diddin have any means of going back to Germany and dey just accept de life here and put Germany behind, just for survival for deir family and deirselves, dey forget about it, because dey had no means of going back. (Have you ever been back to Germany?) No. I have been asked dat question time and time agen. I would like to go back to see where my ancestors had come from, just to know where dey came from. I accepted myself as a Jamaican German, so I don't feel dat I should leave my country to go somewhere else. I have been abroad and am back. I prefer to stay here. I see myself as a Jamaican, more than sey a German. (Do you have any bits of the German culture?). No. None was passed on. I guess other German families might have, but I have none in my possession. We

accept our plite (plight). I guess it mek us stronger, yes. When something bad happens to you it only mek you stronger. I think de Africans should let go. Because, we are so much generations down de line, best to accept dat we are Jamaicans now and mek de best a it. When I said let go, I mean not haunting to go back to Africa, because dere is nothing in Africa fe dem fe go back to. Dey shouldn't forget deir heritage, but dey should move on, you kno. Heritage plays a big part in your life. The word heritage has a big meaning. Well, right now, if you should sit down and study when de tourists comes, you will see basically wat dey want now is mostly history, you kno. Dey don't just want de sea and de sunshine anymore, dey want to know about de history of Jamaica on a whole and here in Seaford Town, is a part of dat. Because, you have de Chinese dat came, you have de Germans, you have de Irish and of course, you have de slaves and dat mek it very interesting. Some (visitors to the museum) seh fabulous, some seh dey have never heard any story like dis, it is amazing' (Vadney, sixth generation German descendant, 2 December 2011).

Vadney's outline clearly conveys the significance of the museum and the meanings it holds for the German descendants of Seaford Town in terms of sense of place, identity and community development. Not only is the facility seen as a tourist attraction, it is also a resource, a reservoir for local culture, a focus of local identity and a reference point for inhabitants. For many, like Vadney, it is from the museum they have learned about their past through this motley collection of domestic wares, images, list of names, arts, crafts, etc. (see Figures 6.23-26). Remnants of life in Germany and their early settlement in Jamaica, the exhibits are a powerful documentary of the enduring spirit of a people faced with tough challenges. It is easy to see why the establishment serves as a source of empowerment for German descendants like Vadney equipping her with knowledge of her ancestors, the difficulties they endured and overcame and their cultural heritage. For visitors, the museum offers an insightful window into their world, their identity and sense of belonging. Moreover, from an economic perspective, visitors to the attraction spread the multiplier effect through patronage of local businesses and services (see Chapter

Two). In this way, the museum plays a multiple role in the development of the community on symbolic, social, conservation and economic levels.

At the same time, the museum extends beyond its traditional role and provides a good example of how local inhabitants can capitalise on their intangible and tangible cultural heritage (see Chapter Two). The German descendants may claim little of their culture was passed on to them, but they keep their connectedness to their ancestors alive through the museum. It is something they are very proud of and which gives the museum a national and international appeal, particularly among German tourists. During my time in Seaford Town, I came across both foreign and local day-trippers, who visited the facility to learn more about the German descendants. One group of around 60 people, who all live in Jamaica, was visiting the community as part of a heritage therapy day out. Every member of the group I spoke with was enamoured by the story of the German descendants. Even though they were all local Jamaicans, they had never heard of the Seaford Town German descendants until their visit. For them it was a real revelation and many indicated they would definitely be making a return visit to learn more.

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Figure 6.23 depicts past domestic relics of the German descendants (Taylor 2011)

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Figure 6.24 Story of the German settlement in Seaford Town (Taylor 2011)

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Figure 6.25 Traditional German names

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Figure 6.26 A snapshot of the past in Seaford Town (Copied by Taylor 2011, with the permission of the Sacred Heart RC Church)

The museum is part of a cluster of nearby tourist attractions such as YS Falls, Treasure Beach and the Whitehouse Sandals Resort. Although there were other German settlements in Jamaica, with Seaford Town being the only remaining active township, it provides an information link to other communities. These various linkages illustrate how by forming relationships, the museum has the potential to maximise benefits from tourism. Moreover, it could diversify culture resources to appeal to even more people who seek close interaction and engagement with German descendants and their rich cultural heritage. The discussion now considers the extent of culture commoditisation in Seaford Town.

6.2 The extent of culture commoditisation in Seaford Town

6.2.1 *Diversifying German culture: the appeal of everydayness*

People of European descent are visible in Jamaica's interior, but usually as landowners, overseers, international aid workers, academic researchers or tourists. As such, it is not a surprise to come across them in Seaford Town, albeit a few more than is the norm in other rural districts. However, what is striking about the German descendants is their sense of place and identity in relation to Seaford Town. To them, this nondescript rural enclave will always be '*German Town*'. It is a reality that is heightened by their veritable acculturation and ordinary everydayness (see Chapter Two), which is in-keeping with traditional rural Jamaican way of life. Coming across Seaford Town's German descendants dressed in 'tear-up' (shabby) clothes, water boots (wellington boots) or barefooted, with cutlasses (machete) heading for the field; riding a donkey, driving cows or goats; carrying goods on their head or simply standing by a rum bar, appear at odds with perceptions of Europeans in the Jamaican interior. Their indistinctive mannerisms from local African descendants, belies their ilk. This intangible aspect of their existence is most fascinating to people whenever episodes of this fieldwork are relayed to people unfamiliar with the community. Late afternoon, Saturday, 26 November 2011, I sat down under a tree by the roadside near the main meeting point in the community to try to capture a sense of the differentiated aspects of life in Seaford Town. I wrote in my field notebook:

'There are no streams or mountains that stand out around here. Even though the terrain is hilly, it is rather bland. There are some reasonable views from vantage points like where John lives, but that is, basically, it. Houses are hotchpotches of dilapidated, reasonable-kept wooden structures, and cement block buildings of varying styles and sizes. Some of the better examples of the German-designed wooden houses (see Figure 6.27) are aesthetically pleasing, although their stilted structures and gaudy colours are as at odds with the landscape as their inhabitants

are with the wider community. Aside from the Sacred Heart Catholic Church (see Figure 6.28), the All Age School and the Vocational Training Centre, there are no designated meeting places in Seaford Town. It is no more than a rural village really. The museum is housed in a room at the elementary school and, nowadays, is only opened by appointment. There are a few rum bars, which locals use, but, primarily, social activity centres around a 'gas station' (Shell Petrol Filling Station), which is located along the only thoroughfare in the community, not far from where I am sitting now. Next to the station, there is a small eatery, and across the road, there is Senna's Supermarket with an adjoining bar and nightclub, which is owned by the same family. There are a number of antiquated gambling machines in the bar area and a space for dancing at the rear of the building. Friday and Saturday nights the area around the gas station is at its busiest. This Saturday evening, the supermarket is a hive of activity with locals doing their weekly shopping. There are a number of taxis and minibuses parked along both sides of the road. Their drivers have come to refuel and are catching up on the week's happenings. Some sit in their vehicles having a drink, while others stand outside basking in the warm evening air and conversing. A deejay in the bar is starting up. His warm-up tunes are the latest reggae hits, which are pumping through the giant speakers that straddle the doorway like bouncers. A number of youths, who are clearly underage, are milling around. Some are aping the artists of the songs being played, while others are bussing their own versions of popular dance moves. From time-to-time they slip into the bar to buy or beg a drink to quench their thirst. Youths openly consume or are sold alcohol. They even sit at the bar alongside adults with little concern or challenge. Like smoking 'ganga' (marijuana) and gambling, underage consumption of alcohol, appears a normal social practice around here. One local reveals school age girls, who are only interested in older men, who can buy them drinks or give them money, primarily, frequent the nightclub. He gets short shrift when he challenges the establishment about these practices.

Next to the bar, under a streetlight, is a makeshift food stall selling jerk-chicken and spicy chicken soup. A table where a game of dominoes is being played is sited next to the food stand. To non-Jamaicans, witnessing a game of dominoes can easily be mistaken for a quarrel due to the animated behaviour of participants. Wild shouting and banging of the bones on the table makes for a boisterous conviviality. Games usually attract a number of onlookers, some of who are waiting their turn to join in. This evening is no different. Various conversations are taking place, as locals tuck into barbequed chicken; sip D&G sodas (Desnoes and Geddes), cold bolted Red Stripe or Heineken beers or white rum chased with iced water or Nurishment. Most locals can only afford to buy the white rum and even though it is the alcoholic beverage of choice, if offered a drink, their preference is for a cold beer or the most expensive soft drink available.

As dusk encroaches, it becomes difficult to tell who is who unless you are close to the person or is a local. Standing back, all one can visibly make out are various animated silhouettes. With the German descendants eating, drinking, playing dominoes and talking in patois, it is hard to distinguish them from African descendants. It is an intriguing spectacle that warrants psychological curiosity if nothing else. Without the visibility of their colour, and there are so many hues in the district, the Seaford Town German descendants are indistinctive. It is a vivid illustration of how cultural identity can transcend race and colour. The culture on display here is clearly situated and is continuously being shaped by the unfolding interactions and the meanings it holds for locals. To an outsider, it is an authentic insight into an imagined world (Observations from fieldwork, 26 November 2011).

This Saturday evening scene appears typical of community life in Seaford Town. There does not seem to be any attempt to conceal behaviours. Everyone seems to be acting in an ordinary way, just going about what appears to be routine. It is my second Saturday evening here and there is nothing noticeably different compared to the last. There might have been the odd visitor, like myself, present, but there was no visible tourist presence.

Even if there was, there was nothing to indicate locals would have acted or behaved differently than they had done. Based on this evidence, it is reasonable to assume the occasion to be a genuine representation of ordinary life in Seaford Town. The nature of such a milieu would present an outsider, like a tourist, with a real picture of how locals go about their everyday lives and an opportunity to make bona fide interactions with them (see Chapter Two). Sharing in community life in this way presents a differentiated picture of how aspects of local culture can be diversified to appeal to tourists, who are seeking genuine everyday interaction and engagement with local people.

The Saturday evening scene in Seaford Town also provided evidence of integration and amicable relations between locals. It was a similar case the following day, Sunday, 27 November 2011 when I attended the first Sunday of Advent Service at the Seaford Town Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church. Even though the church service was an ordinary occurrence for local people, it again provided insights into yet another different aspect of life in the community. During the visit, I wrote in my field notebook:

‘There are eight people of European origin, who I presume to be German descendants; 18 of African origin; three of Asian extraction and the rest of mixed racial backgrounds. (Some of the faces I recognised were from Saturday night.) Although it is hard to distinguish exactly which combination of races, based on the make up of the town, it is fair to say the people of mixed parent heritage are primarily a partnership between German and African descendants. Only two couples appeared of full European descent. There were 11 teenagers among the congregation. The Priest, for the day, it was announced was from Togo. In all, there are approximately 50 adults and children present. On the right side of the building, next to the altar there are drums, guitars and a keyboard - instruments more akin to making music for a Pentecostal flock than an ascetic mass of Catholics. That the church has adopted to popular local practices show how the incorporation of a community’s way of life can help to sustain even such a rigid regime. However, this is not always the case. Benji, who is active in the church and in local community affairs, says, in his church news roundup that plans to

build a new museum have been in the pipeline for sometime. The delay is due to bureaucratic red tape by the church in releasing land for the facility. Benji lambasts his church saying the money for the project had been approved, but because it had been obtained from a gambling source, the church was reluctant to get involved. He claimed the Catholic Church in the Caribbean stipulated gambling should not be supported even though internationally the church benefited from its involvement with betting. Even though the community had put it in writing, argued Benji, that if anything should happen to the planned museum, the land should revert to the church, the institution was still dragging its feet.

The purple colours, candles and rites are representative of the Roman Catholic Church. Religion is the fabric that holds together many Jamaican communities and here it is no different. One woman prays for the unity of a divided Seaford Town. Members of German descendants in this community, Benji continues, do not participate in what is going on, but afterwards you will hear complaints. The ones who do not participate are the loudest. *'It is your community; you need to participate in what is happening'*. Benji says when the German ambassador was here, he noticed there were no rest room facilities and agreed to fund the erection of some. He reveals that two journalists from Germany will be visiting Seaford Town on Tuesday (29 November) and he is asking members of the community to get involved. Benji gives way for an announcement. A male German descendant stands up and gives notice of a road clean up, a community beautification on Saturday 1 December. *'Other communities are doing it, so I can't see why we can't do it,'* he says. Following the announcement, a returning resident of German descent rises to her feet. She says it is a mixed community. *'The Germans came here and mix with the community. Everything must involve every member of the community. You can't always only call on us small numbers of white ones. Everyone needs to come forward and be a part of what is happening,'* she says. This is a clear retort to Benji's earlier comment about lack of involvement by German descendants. Fisher, a German descendant, rises to his feet: *'We are not Germans, but Germaicans'*. There is muffled chortling. *'We were born here. We*

are not Germans, we are Jamaicans,’ he adds settling back into his seat. The what’s on announcements were as long as the service itself. The people of German origin are fierce defenders of their interactions with people of African origin, who their ancestors encountered when they first arrived. This is certainly reinforced by the statements of Fisher and the returning resident (Observations from fieldwork Sunday, 27 November 2011).

The significance of these observations is that they convey a notion of differing aspects of life in Seaford Town with locals being involved in various, ordinary, mundane and everyday routines. Such is their informality, not even locals themselves appear cognisant their conduct and activities such as the Saturday evening scene or church service might be of interest to others, particularly tourists seeking genuine authentic experiences and interactions with them. Smith and Robinson (2006: 8) argue too much emphasis is placed on attractions, which revolve around the built environment - ‘physical symbols or legacies’ like statues, buildings and memorials, which stems from a ‘postimperial obsession’ that ‘fossilise cultures as heritage’ (see Chapter Two). Indigenous people, however, see their ‘heritage more in terms of intangible’ traditions or ‘essence’ of place’ (ibid 2006: 8). This means traditional exclusive cultural tourism experiences were now giving way to more ‘inclusive, democratic and experiential interpretations’ (ibid 2006: 8). In other words, tourists want to have actual interactions and experiences with local people rather than absorb encounters through ‘gazing’.

Smith and Robinson (2006: 8) point to research, which reveals the perception that traditional cultural sites such as ‘galleries, museums and historic buildings’ are a magnet for tourists, were no longer homogeneous. While tourists do spend a lot of time in restaurants, cafes, bars, shops, airports and hotels; significant numbers of them preferred ‘walking around’ and ‘people watching’, ‘observing and encountering aspects of the host’s culture in the form of everyday practices and behaviours’ (ibid 2006: 8). ‘Far from being culture proof, it is particularly these aspects of ordinary life that tourists absorb and on their return home constitute their narratives of memory of experience’ (ibid 2006: 8). The views posited by Smith and Robinson (2006) correlate with the observations of

ordinary everyday practices and behaviours encountered in Seaford Town and support the contention of their possible appeal to tourists. However, it appears as in other settings, locals and tourism planners like those in places such as Seaford Town are often unaware of the allure of this authentic aspect of their culture. They too place importance on built structures. Even though the classroom, which currently houses the Seaford Town German Heritage Museum, is wholly inadequate, the fixation is that a larger bolder building displaying their cultural heritage would resolve the issue of attracting tourists to the district. It is conceivable this would have a positive effect, but so too would their intangible culture in the shape of ordinary everyday practices and behaviours. Embracing the plural dimensions of their culture would help to broaden the appeal of the local tourism product. Moreover, the fact these were ordinary everyday experiences suggest there might be a likelihood of them being more easily sustained. While locals might not appreciate their potential, it is an asset recognised by TPDCo. One of its tourism marketing and promotion's worker, who was in Seaford Town accompanying German tourists on a visit, said the ordinary everyday life experiences that exists in communities such as Seaford Town was illustrative of the overall plural cultural make up of Jamaica. This is an area of tourism, which the worker said was attracting increasing numbers of tourists to the island. He explains:

'We take great pleasure in coming to places like Seaford Town, because it shows another side of Jamaica. It shows that Jamaica is steeped in culture. Who would have thought that in the rural hills of Jamaica there is a little township where some Germans have settled from in 1835 and their descendants are still here. When you come into the town, you will see the little kids at school. When you see them, you know they are not the typical Jamaicans, as you may have come to know it, but, of course, some of them are descendants of these Germans that have settled from that era. What is surprising sometimes or sometimes interesting really is just to hear the reaction from tourists when they come to the area and when they hear the little kids speaking in broken English or speaking the Jamaican patois or if they are not dressed for school in their uniforms, they are looking all raggedy and all of that. For them, it is really an eye opener. They get

to see that Jamaica is not just a beach; it is a place with a rich culture and, of course, people from all different ethnic backgrounds, and that is why our motto says: Out of many, one people.

'We see Seaford Town as an asset. It is easy to market something like this in an age where people are more technology savvy. They know a lot more of what is out there; they hear or see something like this on the internet and want to come and see and experience it for themselves. People want to know. What we find too is that, especially Europeans tend to want to go out more and to see what is behind the gates of the hotels. They want to go out into the communities; they want to go by the little bars and pubs and taverns; they want to see the churches, they want to go to a church service and that in itself is something that I would actually encourage our visitors to do. There are a myriad of denominations. Whereas Christianity is the main religion, there are many denominations and they offer, what I would say, for the most part, and even the Catholic churches, the traditional Catholic and Anglican churches are having what we would call more vibrant worshipping: the clapping of hands, speaking in tongues, shouting; you'll have the drums and the guitars, keyboards and all these things. It just speaks to the rich culture that we have and, of course, we are trying to embrace it. The Jamaica Tourism Board runs a 'meet the people programme', and if people want to come to an area like this, we make that link. In our surveys of which aspects of the island visitors like best, the people always come out on top' (Local tourism worker, 29 November 2011).

This evidence suggests that a major aspect of Seaford Town's appeal lies in the acculturation that is taking place. The process is bounded by cultural connections, which can be seen in the relationships and interactions between locals. As the tourism worker explains, outsiders are fascinated when they witness the differing racial groups engaged in common experiences (see Chapter Two). Even though the meanings culture holds for them are mixed, their basic premise is rooted in Seaford Town and its development.

Moreover, the shared relationships between locals provide evidence of the strong bonds that exist in the community.

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Figure 6.27 Example of German style architecture in Seaford Town (Taylor 2011)

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Figure 6.28 Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, Seaford Town (Taylor 2011)

6.2.2 *The effects of commoditising local culture*

While Seaford Town is rich with opportunities to exploit the ordinary everydayness of locals, everyone might not welcome this. Evidence from some observers indicates that there were German descendants in the community who shunned the limelight due to poor mental health and social conditions and this has led to an existence of isolation and poverty. This has been substantiated by Fisher's evidence:

'Most of the Germans that were here migrated to Canada in the fifties. The few that are left here, they are not coming out. Most of them are poor and don't want the people that come from abroad to know the state they are in, so they don't bother to come out, because of their poverty and thing. We came here poor and we are still poor. Most of them don't know where the next meal is coming from. The picture of that gentleman, (pointing to a Seaford Town German descendant in

a magazine) when they were taking his picture, he covered his face. We are very proud people. We don't want to break the law. We live with the law of the land. If they only have a drink of water with their meals, they are not coming to tell you. When the German ambassador came here, no one came out, because of their pride' (Fisher, 29 November 2011).

Such vulnerabilities mean the kind of close interactions desired by tourists or being gazed on might not be appropriate for everyone in the community. However, participants were quick to point out that there were people with similar issues in most communities. Moreover, a number of German descendants encountered during fieldwork, appeared to be enjoying thriving and emotionally fulfilling lives. They were extremely accommodating, engaging and enjoyed interacting with outsiders. They were aware of their uniqueness and why their story and way of life attract the interest it does. The following section explores the challenges facing community-based tourism in Seaford Town.

6.3 Challenges facing community based tourism in Seaford Town

6.3.1 Managing the transition from farming to a culture-based economy

The development challenge facing the inhabitants of Seaford Town is managing the transition from an agricultural-based economy to one that places more emphasis on the exploitation of culture resources. For generations farming has been the mainstay for local inhabitants. Even though some eke out a living from jobs such as carpentry and driving, tilling the soil or rearing animals, particularly pigs, has been preeminent. The relative acreage of land in their possession means only few do so on a grand scale. Irrespective of size, however, farming continues to be a main source of income (According to the focus group, the average weekly wage in Seaford Town is J\$3, 000, around £15), supplements meagre earnings from elsewhere or purely for subsistence. There are various agricultural

diversification initiatives being planted across Seaford Town. They include micro industries such as bee keeping and greenhouses where cash crops can be cultivated (Some 101 people from Seaford Town and the surrounding area were trained in bee-keeping and given two colonies of the insects after a \$J8.4million grant was obtained from the Japanese embassy). Furthermore, funding is being sought to establish turmeric (powder) and breadfruit (flour) processing projects in the community. However, the only farming that draws a reasonable regular income around Seaford Town, according to focus group participants, is the cultivation of ganga. They say some locals can only send their children to school or settle arrears when the illegal crop is harvested. Despite the importance of these varying farming initiatives in helping to boost local livelihood streams, it is clear they are not enough to fill the huge gap left by the decline in traditional forms of agriculture. A female focus group participant explains:

'More and more people are leaving farming. Farming is dying out. People used to live off their farms, but not anymore. Things are very very poor for some families. Families, they have, may be two, three, four children right - two coming here (the elementary school) and two going up there (the primary school). The only income that they have is the father plants the marijuana or ganga that you call it, and that is only what they can survive off. When it is reaping time and they reap it; if somebody, the big don, don't come in and buy that, well, they have nothing. When I call them and parents don't pay the school fee for about two three terms and I write or call and say come in to see me and let us talk and that's what they are showing me and I know it is a fact'.

Another participant adds:

'It is something that happens all over Jamaica. Most children in rural communities like ours, they literally survive on what the father is able to reap, because quite often the crop is stolen too (a point to which everyone said, 'yes, yes') and they lose it. That money there, really, is something that is used all across Jamaica. I have people tell me, like fathers tell me what they have done

with the ganga money and then they say, but, you know what, I did what I had to do and got out of it. It is not that people want to do it, but what else are you going to do? What would you do? You have to eat' (Focus group participants, 12 December 2011).

With 59.7 per cent of the women and 40.3 per cent of the men in Seaford Town unemployed (SDC 2010a), evidence suggests many locals find it challenging to make ends meet. Such is the imperative of forging new livelihood streams; it has become a perennial pursuit. Part of the difficulty for Seaford Town is there is no form of factories, commercial offices, hotels or hospitals where people can find work. Even though 74 per cent of the population is educated to secondary school level, only 2.4 per cent managed to reach tertiary stage (SDC 2010a). This suggests a dearth of qualified skills, which compounds unemployment in the community. With little alternatives, attention has been focused on exploiting the uniqueness of the German descendants and their history by way of tourism. Attractions centre on the Seaford Town German Heritage Museum (the museum was destroyed several years ago and has been housed in a local schoolroom since. Funds have been obtained for a new building, but it has not been constructed due to land rights issues); Sacred Heart Roman Church and adjoining German cemetery; entertainment by local school children; tour of the rectory and the Seaford Town Vocational Training Centre and pre-arranged visits to individual's homes for greater interaction. There are two bakeries in the community and jerk chicken and roast pig specialists, who can provide authentic local cuisine.

Research has shown that culture and tourism are major features of the economic restructuring of rural areas (see Chapter Two). In Seaford Town, attempts to progress along this path are complex and challenging. Betty, a major figure in the local NGO, said our product is *'the people, the culture, the way of life'*. Even though she is aware it is a commodity *'everyone wants to buy into'*, she is equally cognisant of its intangibility and fluidity so, *'you only get one opportunity to make an impression'*. Betty said visitors were unlikely to return to the community if they received a negative experience for whatever reason; be it an unfriendly welcome, dirty streets or inadequate facilities. These concerns

form part of a broader set of circumstances, which aggravates efforts to exploit local culture resources. For Betty, the process is something of a lonely, uphill struggle:

'Lonely is the head that wears the crown. As you might have been told, I implemented the bee-keeping project single-handedly, although when I am writing I have to say 'we' because it is not an individual project, but I am the 'we'. I am not a selfish person you know, so like when we have meetings I allow people to chair, because I believe in succession planning and you cannot grow unless you are given the opportunity to, you get me. But even then, some people are static; they don't, they are laid back. Many people don't pay light (electricity bills), you can throw up light (steal electricity by attaching wires to overhead cables), you don't pay rent, you don't have to buy food, because you can pick the neighbours' breadfruits, you can go to the river..., some people, their existence no cost much, so they don't have to put out much effort. But, I am looking down the road and seh, 'bwoy, you can't continue like this, you have to put something in place to take care of things later'. You have to plan, you can't say whatever will be, will be. I don't believe in that. It is very challenging. Not much value is put on time. You see; if you had community objectives, where you have everybody working towards something. Alright, my latest project now, I said, because I just don't want to leave them like that, coz me hear dem, but I am so fed up still with the cleanliness of the place that me seh okay, we want to have a 'clean as a whistle' campaign. Because, I am saying, if you are having a tourism product where you want to sell people, you want to sell the community, because the product that you are selling is the people, the culture, the way of life, right, but when you go up there and see the compound, it's pure garbage. So I am saying, you only get one opportunity to make a first impression. When the visitor come now and see all a dis muck, the person is not going to come back or recommend somebody else to come to us' (Betty, 3 December 2011).

At the root of the concerns outlined by Betty is a lack of participation by local people in community development activities. Plans for community beautification initiatives, such

as tree planting, garbage collection and environmental awareness events, aimed at improvements in relation to both tourists and locals, continually fail to attract local help. The German descendants bear the criticism in this respect. Part of the reason for this, admitted members of the focus group, who were all German descendants, was that they are a reserved group. They said there was no racial conflict in Seaford Town and that people were not *'unkind'*, but there was no unity to do anything. They said this stemmed from it being a farming community and everyone was busy trying to eke out their own living; some locals were *'bagga mouth; nothing, but yarn'*; people were selfish, not sharing as they should; mistrust and that the German descendants have stuck to themselves from they came until now. *'It took 100 years for them to integrate, so the process is still going on,'* said one focus group participant.

A number of reasons were also highlighted by the focus group as to why community development was proving a challenge in Seaford Town. These include the fact that Seaford Town was too far from the coast, although this was contradicted with examples of other land-locked communities that were successful in attracting tourist by basing their strategy on people and their culture. TPDCo was then accused of not laying the foundations for Seaford Town's tourism development around its people and culture. Moreover, the organisation's priority was said to be on Montego Bay and not on Seaford Town. Furthermore, there was a lack of people in the community with the management skills to take its development forward. *'All the time they start something and then it stops,'* said a focus group participant. Poverty and lack of education were seen as contributing to Seaford Town's woes. *'Poverty causes a lot of the issues; somebody will sow and I will reap,'* said a focus group participant, who raised the concern of locals stealing from farms. The focus group admitted development was at a standstill in the town, the NGO was not fit for purpose and that they needed someone with the financial resources to invest in the community. One idea put forward was that of senior citizen holiday lodge, which would create spin-off jobs such as taxi service, hairdressing, healthcare, etc. *'We need somebody with the money to come forward and the rest will fall into place,'* said one participant optimistically. *'The people of Seaford Town don't appreciate what they have got. It takes foreign eyes to see that. We have something here*

that is very rich, but it just needs to be put into motion,' added another participant. Such notions of objectification compound the contradictions and complexities of transition from agriculture to an economy based on culture resources in Seaford Town. No one appears willing to take responsibility or offer support to develop their community and for this, everyone blames each other:

'They support, not in presence, because they are not there, you nuh. Seaford Town was established in 1835 and the only thing it has is the town, the name. If you look you will see that they don't come to meetings. At that time when they would have town meetings to discuss their internal German problem, dem no come to the meeting. So, it is understandable now. So, they allow you to make the decisions and do the thing and then after now, you hear seh, dem should a dis, dem should a dat. So, I would say where were you, you were invited to come to the table, you weren't there. (Why are they like that?) Culture. May be because of expectations when they came originally. Their expectations weren't met so they then go inward. You nuh, like you go inside and close the door and don't bizniz (care). So they are now a reserve set of persons. They don't object to you being there, neither are they telling you to be there' (Betty, 3 December 2011).

This is a clear criticism of the German descendants, which was a recurring theme during fieldwork in Seaford Town. Even the German descendants have difficulty persuading their own to get involved in community activities. This was the case with John's community clean up day event. The German descendants I spoke to afterwards, say they never knew the event was taking place otherwise they would have to help. When I relayed this to John, he said it is the same old excuses used all the time. Dotty tells a similar tale of the difficulties in attracting volunteers. She said everyone wants to be paid and unless they were receiving a financial contribution, they were not interested. However, she said it was not always that way. In her evidence relating to the annual Garden Party before its demise, she revealed:

‘Volunteering used to happen. All the Germans would come out and help. The whole community would come out and work. One family would be in charge of the roast pig. They would get donations of pigs and whatever they made from the sale, would go to the church. The nans would have a raffle; they would make pastries such as gizzadas (grated coconut and pastry cakes), pones (puddings), drops (chopped coconut cakes), and serve tea. The only form of dancing would be in the school on the stage. Whoever wanted to dance would pay a donation to dance on stage, but now they want all the lights out like dancehall. I’m not prepared to be responsible for a group of teenagers or young people. One year, the stage was full of condoms. It has lost its way. To re-organise to that would need a planning committee throughout the year. You would need to say, we will give so much money, but you need to make x-amount. But it used to be voluntary for the church and community members and a lot of Germans migrated and the ones left behind don’t feel like they should do anything’ (Dotty, 14 December 2011).

The demise of the Garden Party was a much-debated topic in the community. For many years, the event was a local family Boxing Day event, but its popularity grew attracting revellers from as far as Kingston, about a three-hours drive away. It meant the local NGO, which took over its organisation from the Roman Catholic Church, could not cope or finance policing such large crowds. The event was cancelled in 2011 and even though locals organised a similar event on a different site and on a more commercial footing, reports were not as favourable as for the original party. Festivals such as Seaford Town’s Annual Garden Party are a significant local culture resource and form part of the economic restructuring or transition of many rural areas (see Chapter Two). Despite the concerns surrounding the event, Dotty believes it could prove a success if a fully committed person could be found to manage the operation.

6.3.2 *Eschewing links to Germany*

The severing of links by the German descendants of Seaford Town with Germany is a perplexity that occupies local minds far more than the decision by their ancestors to leave Europe for the Caribbean in the first place. The topic is clearly mulled and churned over owing to the fact it crops up regularly in conversations with local people. For some, it is a cultural connectedness that impacts the way of life of the Seaford Town German descendants, their attempts to develop their community by way of culture and tourism and how they make sense of their realities. As evidence and observations indicate, despite a span of some 180 years, the consequences of that fateful voyage still permeate their lives. For local African descendants like Benji, the ramifications of abandoning ties with Germany still confounds:

'If you compare the Chinese, who came here, almost under the same conditions as indentured slaves, to the Germans; the Chinese have passed on their language and most of their culture to their children. That is why we still have so many Chinese businesses in Jamaica; we still have so many Chinese restaurants, the Chinese Benevolent Society. Anyone of these places you go and there is a Chinese child there, that child can speak the language. The Germans, they didn't do that. There's no one around now who can speak the German language or know a word in German. How could that have happened in say 150 years you have completely lost your language? You can't go to their home and they provide a dish and say, this is a dish that they used to cook in Germany. So what happened why they lost their culture? I am amazed. Nothing significant; nothing; not one aspect. The only thing, I guess in Germany they used to eat a lot of pork and they still do - that's about the only thing, you can say. Well, the Africans still have some, although we were here years before them and we came here as slaves that went through so much hardships. We still have a little bit of ours; for even if it is the names of our children, the way we dress, some of the dishes that we cook, some of the words in our patois' (Benji, African descendant, 14 December 2011).

Benji's evidence suggests the residue of why the German descendants relinquished their linkages to Germany remains a feature of the challenges facing the community. A reading

of the poem by Bunnaman, a fourth generation German descendant, indicates they perhaps felt abandoned by Germany and chose to build a new life with others (African descendants) who had encountered similar challenges adapting to life in a new alien environment. However, in neglecting their linkages to Germany, they faced a host of psychological difficulties. It is a contention that is supported by others in the community and even the German descendants themselves are perplexed as to why they have not maintained physical or cultural links with Germany. Fisher, a fourth generation German descendant, explains:

‘The Germans that came here met up on so much hardships they forget the language, they had to adopt the language of the slaves to communicate and survive. They forgot everything that they left Germany with. They never even taught their children to make sausages and they are gifted for sausages. Germans are gifted for sausages and they never taught them. It is like only a few words that, right now, I learned from the tourists that come here, that to say, ‘hello’; you say, ‘Guten tag’ (good day) and when they are leaving you say, ‘auf Wiedersehen’. They usually have a thing in the kitchen that they usually put their stuff in, a little cupboard and they call it ‘schrank’ and I heard those are German. You would hear dem seh ‘go in de schrank an’ pass dis fe me’, but those are only a few words they would use. I started doing German, but I never continued. The words are so long man; some take up a whole line on the page. Like, I know ‘nein’, is ‘no’ and I know ‘Fraulein’ and all these things, women and all dem things. I know a few words that I know along the way from people who come from Germany. I don’t see why I should blame Germany. You know why; because when they left and came here, they thought they came to a better life, only to found out it was a worse life. They came with a lot of hope - they even brought a comedian’ (Fisher, German descendant, 29 November 2011).

However, as Fisher reveals, life in Jamaica was no laughing matter. Recollections are infused with misery and tales of deceit. Fisher claims his fore-parents were tricked into coming to Jamaica. Succumbing to such subterfuge has been exacerbated by the belief

they hold that their ancestors are seen as ‘*dumb*’ for embarking on such a foolish voyage. The visceral effect of this perceived shame has left the German descendants of Seaford Town bereft of connections to their cultural heritage. Moreover, it suggests they lack cohesiveness, a basis for coming together, a source of empowerment, a sense of depth, historical belongingness, a feeling of deep-rootedness and wanting to extend the genealogical line. When speaking to Fisher about the experiences of his fore-parents, he generally appears indifferent towards Germany. However, when the economic might of the European country is interposed, a febrile glow washes his face. This seems a fleeting radiance, which brightens the inner darkness of his inheritance. However, such acknowledgement symbolises a sense of belonging, even if faintly expressed. In a quiet, humble way, it appears Fisher clings to bits of his German cultural heritage, as his response to this probe reveals:

‘The second generation experienced hardships like the first. The agents that went to Germany made a second trip. If the first batch had caught them, they would have hanged them. They had built a gallows for them. Germany was very poor at the time. When they brought the people here, they put them into slavery. I suppose when they go through the history they were very dumb to take these two agents and what they came and told them. When they came (to Jamaica) and saw the situation, they wanted to go back home and could not. They just came and dump them here. It was a swamp; mosquito infested. When they told them how Jamaica was beautiful and had sunshine 24-hours; they came and found they make a mistake and had to live with it. The Africans were forced, but we came as indentured labourers. They tricked us in coming and I supposed they never wanted to tell anyone they were tricked. I supposed, they said; ‘God: this has happened to us and we have to live with it’ (Fisher, 29 November 2011).

The evidence of Fisher suggests an inner turmoil that has clearly affected his psychological and emotional wellbeing, the private, the hidden and the self. Even four generations on, the rawness of the deceit of being tricked into coming to Jamaica imprints in his articulations and how he makes sense of his existence. Coping with the

disappointment of their fore-parents' foolhardiness meant hiding their cultural connectedness and keeping it private to themselves. This contrasted with some African descendants who have managed to maintain some aspects of their cultural practices, expressions and symbolisms embodied in language, foods, rituals, spirituality, music and values. In doing so, they were able to deflect European hegemony perpetuating thus retaining cultural sense of self, self-esteem and identity. The discussion now considers future development prospects in Seaford Town.

6.4 Visions for the future

6.4.1 Maximising the benefits of Seaford Town's rich culture resources

The evidence of locals suggests there is potential to develop Seaford Town through greater reliance on the community's rich cultural heritage. Moreover, during fieldwork, a number of possible opportunities to boost development of the community by way of culture and tourism became apparent. They include revival of the town's popular annual garden party and beauty pageant contests; farmers' style markets, which could combine agriculture and culture products; greater use of connections and setting (near Seaford Town) of Steve McQueen's and Dustin Hoffman's blockbuster *Papillon*, in which many of the German descendants played roles as extras and capitalising on the community's proximity to Montego Bay, the island's tourism capital. Moreover, Hilda, a focus group participant, thinks the district and its salubrious environment could be ideal for health tourism offering retired living with doctors and support services on hand. Dotty argued that micro industries such as turmeric and breadfruit processing; making of jams, jellies and honey and market days could complement a thriving tourism product. German folk dancers, re-enactments, story telling and displays of artefacts could buttress the cultural contribution. Furthermore, Seaford Town is known for its pork specialties and with the increasing growth of food tourism, this could be a major selling point for the community. It is known that products and their uses are not only shaped by how they are represented

and the meanings they hold, but also in the location they are produced (Gibson and Connell 2003). In the context of Seaford Town's roast pork, for example, its marketing would be based on authenticity and branding strategies relating to German descendants and their association with the meat product. Dotty insists that development of the community would entail greater focus on both culture and micro agricultural industries. This would mean using all that Seaford Town has to offer. She feels the community was too small and limited in resources to only emphasise one particular dimension.

While evidence of the potential exploitation of culture resources in Seaford Town seems obvious, this would involve greater community participation. This would include higher levels of volunteering, goodwill, fellowship, interpersonal relationships, sense of community and local ownership (Edwards 2012). Factors such as these could help to generate business and products, garner external support and thereby attracting tourists. There are some of these collaborations that exists in Seaford Town such as the partnerships and co-operation that led to the successful beekeeping grant bid from the Japanese Embassy, but these are limited. The evidence indicates there is a need for more of these types of relationships to boost development of the community. Dotty admits:

'We need more people to take up responsibility, but you know the busy ones are the ones who take up the responsibilities, as it happens in most organisations; the jobs keep coming on the same people. Jamaicans don't work together. Very few communities you find, really work together' (Dotty, 14 December 2011).

Such evidence indicating a lack of willingness to play a role in the development of their community has led to stereotyping of the German descendants. They are accused of not being enthusiastic in community affairs, of being less assertive and not as hardworking as their African counterparts. The criticisms are typical of the bickering that exists in communities generally. The German descendants in Seaford Town are very much in the minority and there are varying reasons why their role in the community's development is not what might be expected, as Jill explains:

'The Germans are delicate. May be, say, a dark skin person talking to us now, we are like thin skin. May be a normal conversation we having, so we are more or less delicate, so you have to be careful how you choose your words to us. The darker set of persons are like warriors, go-getters, so anything you put at them, they say 'yeah mon, you gwaarn mon, you know', all stand up and 'yeah', but the Germans are peaceful. We are not the type of person where we love to war and quarrel. Based on how I observe, it is the main characteristic of how I would classify it. It's part of their nature' (Jill, 18 December 2011).

Examined singularly, the issues locals report appear facile to thwart; cumulatively, however, they are rather challenging. This makes the community-led development of Seaford Town highly contested, even though all the participants agree it could play a critical role in the restructuring of the community. Years of entrenched poverty and hardships have brought individualistic tendencies to the fore in Seaford Town with everyone fending for themselves. The community has witnessed the death of German traditions as the numbers of German descendants have dwindled. This has led to unequal power relations and affected the psychological wellbeing of those that remain. Evidence suggests there needed to be greater emphasis on balanced community relations, which could help bolster development of the district.

6.4.2 Rekindling linkages to Germany

The German descendants are unconscious of who they are, where they are from and lack cultural identity, which Dotty argues, has hindered development of Seaford Town. A number of locals too believe it is to blame for the absence of the German descendants' participation in community activities. Some say they seemed unconcerned about what was going on. They contend they were a dying breed and held little hope for the future. Dotty argues that reconnecting to Germany could help them regain their cultural identity and sense of self. Re-establishing linkages would help in reconstructing the meanings culture holds for them and enable them come to terms with issues relating to emotional and psychological wellbeing. Furthermore, Dotty posits this could have a knock on effect

opening up new visitor channels to the community thus generating increased levels of tourism income. However, this needs to begin with cognisance of who they are, as she explains:

'It's lack of awareness of that culture and that link. I think they are a little bit lost. They lost that richness of their culture and I think some of them long for it. It's just like an isolated group. Someone was saying, that they were Germans living in a remote, very remote place like on top of a hill totally cut off from that time, but you can't live in isolation. You must be part of a global network. I think this German ambassador is very anxious to re-establish those links and am hoping that we can, this year, work in, as part of the anniversary celebration, towards that goal, get it through schools and start to get, to get moving on that culture. We need to start in the schools, because young people, on the whole, and been in such a rural community, they don't understand the value of that culture and keeping those links. I think they have to understand... if you look at Bill and Mavis (a German descendant couple) do they stand out in this community? Yes, because they are hard working. They are simply folks. They value you for what you are. They live as their people lived in this community: helping each other, working together and so these are the things that are needed. They are different, because they had the initiative to move and the exposures made them understand their culture and value it even more for what it is and the richness of it. Well these just don't and it's the ignorance that keeps them away from what their culture is. I don't know, that's how I see it and maybe I'm wrong. Give them a sense of identity; yeah, a sense of pride in who they are, like the Africans tend to have. If you are going to boast about Africa, there are not many things, but they find things. Look at how Kwanzaa (a holiday, which was started in 1966 to bring African American communities together) started and it has become quite big in the States. Anyway, we'll work on it. Let's see what happens' (Dotty, 14 December 2011).

Apart from tangible artefacts in the Seaford Town German Heritage Museum and the names of the German descendants who made that fateful voyage, there is little intangible heritage in the form of music, language, folklore, practices, meanings, beliefs and customs. It means a limitation of what locals can draw from to develop distinctive cultural products. Even though culture and heritage are multiple constructions of the past that undergo continual metamorphosis in line with what the current situation dictates, such limited foundations hamper development. Rekindling linkages to Germany, as Dotty suggests, could satisfy their sense of belonging, help them construct new identities and provide a source from which they could make progress in the development of their community. Moreover, this would help to ease their isolation and broaden their appeal to tourists.

Despite the cultural, economic, emotional and psychological benefits of re-establishing links with Germany, a German journalist visiting Seaford Town paints a more detached picture of such a connection. He said Seaford Town is not widely known in Germany and that he heard about it from the JTB. Although he recognised the community's uniqueness, his retort to the intimation of Seaford Town being a little part of Germany was somewhat disdainful. The journalist seemed more animated by tales of the heroic resistance of the Maroons than by his common ancestors being duped and overcoming hardships to survive. Such an indifferent response may have been because linkages between the Seaford Town German descendants and Germany were too tenuous to be of any significance:

'I would not call this part of Germany. It does not feel like a part of Germany. For some funny reason it is a part of Germany's history outside of the country. There are some tiny traces now, but it has become Jamaican. May be it is a good example of mixing of the races; leaving a country and becoming part of a society abroad' (German journalist, 1 December 2011)

Having lost their cultural connection with the land of their ancestors, the Seaford Town German descendants have constructed new identities reflective of their environment.

These were based on shared relationships or ‘mixing of the races’ as the German journalist puts it. However, it was not only an attachment to people that the German descendants developed, but also one to place. This connection lies at the heart of Seaford Town’s appeal and is critical for its future development.

6.4.3 *Taking advantage of the uniqueness of ‘German Town’*

Even though Fisher claims he has no blame for Germany or his ancestors, who had no way of returning home, the upheaval has clearly had a psychological effect. So painful has been the memory of the deceit, his predecessors, en-bloc, chose to hide the details from their children. They never wanted Fisher and his subsequent generations to know they had been the victims of a cruel deception, so they never discussed it or any other aspect of German culture with them. Maintaining the surreptitiousness of the affair meant blocking out knowledge and talk of Germany. This appears to have been a coping strategy, a mechanism that would enable them to reconstruct a new life and a new identity free from being besmirched by what their ancestors considered a grave error. At the same time, conditions must have been pretty awful in Germany for them to uproot and sail across the Atlantic on the back of exotic tales of paradise and mountains dripping with gold. However, they have come to accept Jamaica as their country and Seaford Town as their home. For some, like Fisher, it made greater sense to accept their fate and their situatedness. It is a decision he embraces with pride:

‘I was born and grown here. This is the only life I know. I went to England and I know, kinda know their culture, but this is where I was born. Am a Jamaican, de people dem seh we a ‘Germaican’. I look back on my Jamaican heritage. I have never been to Germany. I don’t know how they live there. I have only met the people who come on the tour and we talk a lot. They ask me if I would like to come to Germany and I said I would love to go there one day, but I have never got the opportunity, so I have never been there. I noticed that the Africans always want to go back to Africa, but I don’t know anything about Germany. It is my Motherland, but I don’t know anything about it. I know about Jamaica and I have

the sixth sense to tell me if I stay in Jamaica I will survive better. I am not interested in those things again (going back to Germany) (Fisher, 29 November 2011).

This evidence suggests that having no connection to Germany has increased the German descendants' attachment to Seaford Town. This appears to be more than a geographical bond with place. It is home to families, friends, belongings, school and where childhood experiences were shaped and acted out. Seaford Town is a site for 'social relations and social practices' (Lengen and Kistemann 2012: 1162) and cultural integration and meanings. This is evident in the strong bonds that have been formed and maintained, particularly with African descendants. Jill, who is of German and African descendants, explains:

'Growing up, I don't hear much things about Germans and stuff, my father mentioning about Germans or whatever, even though he is a German ancestor. I don't hear it much, you understand. It's like we don't know what to develop on or to pass on to my children or my niece and nephew or whatever. I don't hear much, I just a Jamaican, basically. To me, it's like it's dying out. I don't know what to pass on. It's not like I got it and didn't pass it on. I just didn't get it. I don't know. Any culture I got or any ideas are not really about Germany. It's basically about the normal duppy (ghost) story, slavery stuff and obeah, the African part coming in. It's like the African culture has drowned the German culture in a way. You have many, including my father, getting married to the African descent' (Jill, 13 December 2011).

Jill's evidence indicates their linkages to Jamaica and local ways of life are very strong. This is intrinsic in their language, habits, norms, values, foods, tastes, beliefs, practices and behaviour. In fact, it is extremely difficult to differentiate the Seaford Town German descendants from local African descendants. More than anything else, this has come across in Jill's evidence. These actions are highly visible across the board in the community, as Dotty explains:

'I think, through several generations, there is a very strong emotional attachment to here. It's something unique, the Chinese celebrate it, the Indians too, so why shouldn't the Germans, but they don't have that link to that heritage anymore; when they left, they got cut off. It was difficult. Communication was so difficult at that time and for them to travel back there was so expensive and unthinkable. They only say 'yeah, we are from German origin', but they don't really understand the fullness of it. When the German ambassador came here, what did the people ask him: 'How they can get visas to go to Germany and if they are eligible for visas to go and visit Germany' - things that any tourist can do. They didn't have anything to ask him. They didn't ask about the cultural things; how can we establish linkages? We did that in the smaller meeting (Dotty, 14 December 2011).

As Dotty's evidence suggests, the connection to Seaford Town provides the German descendants with a sense of place and belonging. It is distinctive and is a major part of its appeal to outsiders. The community has become synonymous with the German descendants and bound up with their identity and way of life. Whenever the community is mentioned during fieldwork, the German descendants, their architecture and pork cuisines were always recognised. Dotty believes that other migrant groups in Jamaica celebrated their culture and it should be no different for the German descendants. The hope is that doing so might rekindle their desire to reconnect to the land of their original cultural heritage. There is a sense that this could boost self-esteem and emotional and psychological wellbeing. Moreover, it could add to the appeal of the district as a site of on-going acculturation.

6.4.4 Constructing a future forged on strong local relationships

The Germans who arrived in Seaford Town were mostly artisans and lacked the farming skills needed for life in a predominantly agricultural environment. With inadequate provisions made for them, they became desperate for food. Some turned to the newly freed African slaves that they had been recruited to guard to learn farming skills, while

others raided their fields for food. Over time, social relationships blossomed and soon extended to matrimonial bonds in an effort to curb inbreeding among the German descendants, which was causing serious health problems. Largely, these relationships have stood the test of time. All the German descendants, who participated in this study, were most at ease when discussing their ties with African descendants. Their relationships were based on co-operation, respect and trust. According to Fisher, both his fore-parents and the African descendants were in the same boat; their shared experiences of hardships forced them to live together. Through this frame, they were able to satisfy basic psychological needs of relating to each other, self-determination, gaining skills and accepting responsibilities. With great pride, Fisher exclaims:

‘The people came here and they fit in with the coloured man. They would fight for each other. None of them was richer than the other. They were all farmers so they all just lived as one. Both them and the slaves were in the same condition. They had to lean on each other’s shoulders. Hardship made them live together. One was white and the other was black, but they had to overlook that. What I am proud of is how they live with the coloureds. No one is fighting, because of race’ (Fisher, 29 November 2011).

Speaking to John, a 5th generation German descendant and two of his brothers, Bill and Fantah, you get a sense of the camaraderie that exists in the community. As well as getting along with each other, they say Seaford Town is tranquil, quiet, no crime, little traffic; basically, life in the slow lane. Fantah says he works at his own pace and if, one morning, he does not feel up to the task, he simply has a lie in. Even though they have strong family connections abroad (mainly United States of America and Canada) and can come and go as they wish, there is nowhere comparable to Seaford Town. They say everyone gets along irrespective of their race or beliefs. It is evidence of maintenance of amicable and positive relationships, shared experiences and interactions. Fantah explains:

This is a nice little community. This is a really nice community. A lot of people would like to come and live in this community. Oh, yes man. It’s beautiful. I used

to live in Canada; I lived in Canada for about eight or nine years. I was there a long time. When I come back here, we live good; everybody. We just live good here. Believe me, I wouldn't want to go back. Is like you know, you know sometimes it get so quiet, you can hear the birds; you know what I mean. It's not this heap of traffic and all that; one house beside each other, you have this little porch and you neighbour can hear what you saying and all that. Here, you free. My wife has kids, if she don't wanna get up tomorrow morning, she can lie in her bed. I drive the bus down here, if I feel I am sick, I just relax. When the phone ring, I am feeling sick, nobody quarrels. We can go pick orange and cut cane (sugar cane). Ah, we just love it here. (Fantah, 5th Generation German descendant, 16 December 2011).

His brother, Bill chips in:

'You see, I born and grow here yuh nuh. In that big house up there, where John lives; a up deh all a we born. We never go hospital or anything, we just born there and it's like our birthplace and we love it. And, if you see how we live colourwise; like black and white, we live perfect; yeah man, we don't have no problem with it. A black woman raise all a we. We is black people. We eat a de same table, we eat out a de same pot, we drink out a de same cup. Here, I haven't bucked up really, really encountered anybody with that separation barrier, that's you are black, they are white. It's not about colours; it's about getting along (Bill, 5th generation German descendant, 16 December 2011).

However, the participants' articulation of local social relations, cultural and territoriality is somewhat, imperceptible in areas of community development. Despite everyone getting along, there are elements of individualism that pervade the community, says John. He reveals a community clean up day event, which he organised and encountered difficulties recruiting volunteers, particularly from among the German descendants. Even though there is strong evidence of racial unity in Seaford Town, there appears to be divisions when it comes to getting involved in community affairs and activities. This was

noticeable during the clean up event when the overwhelming majority of the volunteers were African descendants. John said it was puzzling and disappointing that more descendants that are German did not turn out to help. He also raised concerns about the lack of government support for business start up initiatives and infrastructure improvements in the community, particularly roads. However, John believes the community should take more responsibility for its own development rather than rely on the government, in which he has little faith. He said on numerous occasions they have asked for government assistance to undertake infrastructure improvements, but to little avail. John condemns political representatives for being more interested in lining their own pockets than helping local people.

What are evident from these observations are the complex, factional and political undercurrents that permeate Seaford Town's attempts to improve its socio-economic conditions and infrastructure. Although these are prevailing themes in communities, understanding such concerns is critical to fully appreciate the meanings culture holds for locals and how their practices and behaviours are brought to bear on their development strategies. The concerns espoused by John relate to existing theories regarding rural community development (see Chapter Two). He believes this does more harm to the development of the community than good. John explains:

'Everybody wants to be on their own, which is not working; it is not working. What about people in the community, say, for instance, Fantah is putting on a room on his house, let's volunteer to help him. He finds the money; we find the time. They want something done, may be they want a piece of land chop down (clearing), we all put together as a community and go and help. Do you know where we would be? Can you see that vision where we would be? It used to be like that, but you don't see people doing that anymore. This is a mixing pot here. You have people from England, you have people from Germany, you have people from different races; when it comes down to it, your colour is white, your colour is black, but you are in the community; we all help one another. We are supposed to get help from the government to fix the roads and provide things like water, but

it is not being done. We are not getting the help we are supposed to. You come in here (go to see a councilor) and say, 'oh, we gonna do farming, we gonna farm something'. They say, 'oh, you can go and get a money'. When you go there, they want to give you two machetes and a file. I mean, two machetes and a file; what can that do for you? Now, if the government wants to do something for us to keep the road like this, they just need to pay us the money and give us four weed eaters (grass cutting machines). I will get four good guys and go on the street and just cut it down and keep it that way' (John, 5th generation German descendant).

It is clear these observations are reflective of the complex and differentiated nature of existence in communities such as Seaford Town. Moreover, they show how political considerations cannot be ignored in community-led development debates. Local people like those in Seaford Town can only do so much and do not have all the means to undertake the necessary infrastructure improvements that can make a real difference to their lives and contribute to the economic development of the community. Sprucing up the roadways does provide temporary aesthetic feel-good factor. However, the evidence of participants suggests that what is needed in the community is real investment by the government, not just in infrastructure, but also in local people in terms of training, job opportunities and support for business initiatives to enable them to help themselves by exploiting local resources.

6.5 Concluding comments

Seaford Town is the only enclave in Jamaica with notable German descendants. It is a uniqueness, which locals are seeking to exploit for the benefit of the whole community. This involves the commoditisation of culture for the consumption of tourists. However, the two entities are contested and when added to other issues, they appear an overwhelming struggle. Some of the difficulties are rooted in a community whose foundations were laid in deceit, broken promises and mistrust. Despite a span of 180

years, some of these machinations continue to cloud Seaford Town and its development. Participants indicated some of the German descendants appeared lost and longing for reconnection with their ancestral homeland, which would help to rekindle their cultural linkages, and open possible development and communication channels.

A significant social cohesive factor in the community is the German descendants' close bonds with African descendants. Evidence indicates they hold similar views, shared commonalities and experiences. These are locally bounded relationships embedded in ideas of co-operation, trust and negotiation. They could provide an important springboard for community-led development of local resources. However, it is clear Seaford Town, like other rural communities, face challenges over managing the transition from an agricultural-led economy to one that places more emphasis on exploiting culture resources. This is coupled to political considerations, poor infrastructure, social inequalities and historical circumstances. Examining these issues has added to knowledge of the meanings culture holds for the people of Seaford Town in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development and the extent to which they capitalise on their intangible and tangible cultural resources in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism. In doing so, this case study has led to a greater understanding of the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of the community. The next chapter applies and tests the conceptual framework in order to develop a critical analysis of the different development paths of the two case studies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

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Figure 7.29 A young holidaymaker poses with a dreadlock mermaid at a Negril all-inclusive resort in Jamaica (Taylor 2011)

7.0 Introduction

This study set out to examine the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica. The research is underpinned by the objectives of exploring the meanings culture holds for rural Jamaican inhabitants in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development. The research further seeks to evaluate the extent to which local people capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism in Jamaica. Moreover, the study intends to make recommendations for local inhabitants and policymakers in relation to the mobilisation of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica and in other locations.

This chapter presents a critical discussion of the case study results. The conceptual framework is applied to the material to analyse the different development paths taken by Charles Town and Seaford Town. It argues that Ray's (1998) culture economy approach helps to capture this, but the complex and contested nature of ideas relating to development, cultural identity, sense of place and commoditisation mean it does not do so holistically. However, a more comprehensive picture of the development paths of the two communities emerge by integrating notions of the culture economy with ideas relating to cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation. This is reflected in locals' sense of temporal connection or 'rootedness' in place such as ancestral memories and stories (vertical linkages) and reciprocal arrangements and same-level locally bounded relationships (horizontal linkages). Moreover, it can be seen in the differentiated and diversified approaches to commoditising local culture to meet tourists' demand for actual interactions and co-creative experiences and engagement. The chapter concludes that this adds to a more dynamic, fluid and fulsome understanding of the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica.

The chapter begins with discussion of the role of culture and tourism in the development of Charles Town and Seaford Town followed by analysis under the key themes used in

the conceptual framework. These are culture economy, cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation.

7.1 Role of culture and tourism in the development of Charles Town and Seaford Town

The role of culture and tourism is an integral feature of attempts by locals in the Charles Town Maroon and the Seaford Town German districts to sustainably develop their communities. Even though the two communities have traditionally relied on farming, the continuing demise of the sector means local people are increasingly turning to their culture resources for economic and social wellbeing. Moreover, they believe using their culture in this way can actually help to sustain it (see Chapter Five and Six). This is supported by literature, which shows that tourism can help to revive dying cultural traditions (see Chapter Two). Both communities are rich in intangible and tangible culture resources and it is these that are being (re) fashioned into products and services for tourists' consumption. This includes providing accommodation for guests, who want to stay with local families, craft making and preparing traditionally grown foods and drinks served in homes in the communities or as part of specially arranged functions. Furthermore, there is sale of locally grown spices and beverages such as turmeric, nutmegs, pimento, scotch bonnet pepper sauces, coffee and cocoa produce. Complementing these are activities and entertainment, which guests are encouraged to engage in or observe. They include spiritual performances; recitals in local dialects; traditional music; traditional drumming and dancing; storytelling; religious worship; gazing at natural landscapes, flora and fauna; visits to historical and pre-historical sites; hiking and trekking; swimming; leisurely interaction with locals; playing dominoes; drinking at local bars; etc.

The distinctiveness of both Charles Town and Seaford Town, culturally and physically, means initiatives, activities, resources and products are place dependant. Moreover, they

intertwine with the cultural identity of the people in each community. Locals in Charles Town and Seaford Town insist that it is the distinctiveness of their cultural identity that adds a sense of place to the districts and to products. For example, the German descendants have a strong association with pork produce and this marks the meat as a signature dish of Seaford Town. Across the island, the community is not only known as 'German Town', but also for its roast pork. Similarly, in Charles Town, traditional African-style drumming and dancing is a trademark of the Maroon descendants.

The increasing reliance on their cultural identity can be seen as attempts by Charles Town and Seaford Town to become established as spaces of consumption more closely associated with local history and traditions than solely agricultural production. Moreover, using their cultural identity to develop their communities in this way fits the mode of regional development strategy, Ray (1998: 16) espouses. He describes this as where 'cultural markers' such as food, languages and dialects, crafts, historical sites, etc. form the basis of efforts by rural areas to localise economic control or to 'revalorise place through its cultural identity' and terms it the 'culture economy' approach to local development (see Chapter Three). While the idea is not a new phenomenon, in the rural communities of Charles Town and Seaford Town, it clearly marks out the transition from an agriculture-led economy to one that is placing more emphasis on the exploitation of local culture resources.

Moreover, ideas of vertical and horizontal integration in terms of sectorial diversification, which are inherent in Ray's concept, reflect similar development approaches in Charles Town and Seaford Town. These are representative of linkages to time or ancestral attachments in the form of memories, folklore and rituals (vertical linkages) and same-level trust-based locally bounded relationships (horizontal linkages) (see Chapter Three). They further reflect the notion of cultural connectedness where locals draw on their horizontal and vertical linkages for contemporary economic and wellbeing objectives. The plurality of commoditisation concept is where locals differentiate aspects of their culture to appeal to a broader range of tourists and guests. It is also used to hold back parts of their culture that they do not want visitors to see. These ideas will be discussed in

greater detail later in the chapter, however, they can be seen to extend Ray's culture economy development approach by reflecting the specificities of place, local people's cultural identity and their own ideas for developing their communities by way of culture and tourism.

The development of Charles Town and Seaford Town is, essentially, to overcome entrenched poverty. Both communities have high unemployment rates and their level of poverty have increased competition for scarce resources. This is exacerbated by lack of skills in areas such as technology, finance and the will and creativity to capitalise on their intangible and tangible cultural resources. This is compounded by poor rural infrastructure, short-term planning and lack of available funding for locals to access to improve their economic and social circumstances. These findings support similar research in reports such as JSIF (2009) and the Commonwealth Secretariat (2002) (see Chapter Two). However, what is noticeable in this study is how these factors contribute to community unease, hierarchical struggles and fractured relationships. This stems partly from the perception, which exists in both communities, that people who are engaged in community tourism development seek benefits for themselves rather than the whole community. In Charles Town, this concern is raised in relation to the Charles Town Maroon Museum and Safu Yard, which attracts the majority of tourists to the community and is seen to be making financial gains (see Chapter Five). Although an evaluation of the sums revealed that the amounts were not what they were perceived to be. This did little to alter perceptions. Similarly, in Seaford Town, there are concerns that a vehicle purchased, as part of the beekeeping project is no longer used for its intended purposes.

Findings in both communities show that issues mainly stem from power relations and decision-making in terms of who is included or excluded (see Chapter Five and Six). Cole (2006: 95) argues that these factors can exacerbate community tension and are part of the fragmented nature of communities. Moreover, in communities where there are limited resources, such disputes reinforce ideas that tourism is a divisive force (ibid 2006: 95). In Charles Town, for example, the Maroon Council is accused of operating as a community within a community. The Maroon descendants themselves admit that if it

were not for them, the community would not hold the distinctiveness it does. Taking this 'unequal and independent' stance aligns with ideas of vertical cultural connectedness where relationships are of a hierarchical nature (Boros et al. 2010: 540). Even though such 'individualist' tendencies might appear negative, groups such as the Maroon descendants 'tolerate and are able to cope with high levels of within-group conflict' (ibid 2010: 540). This observation correlates with the views of Cole (2006: 95), who argues that communities need to be seen as more 'complex and fluid' and 'fractured along lines of kinship, gender, age, ethnicity and existing levels of wealth'. Moreover, recognising the 'fluidity and relational character of power relations implies that empowerment is not the start but the *effect* (sic) of dynamic processes in which (parts of) communities, tourists, tourist organisations and governmental as well as development agencies interact' (Van der Duim, Peters and Akama 2006). Although Salazar (2011) argues that local-level participation is essential for achieving sustainable development outcomes, Van der Duim, Peters and Akama (2006) believes community involvement does not necessarily lead automatically to empowerment of individuals. While acknowledging these constituents as part of the development of rural communities, this research argues that locals need to reach out beyond their immediate circle to articulate their motivations, ideas and strategies for community development to combat the perceived benefits of exploiting local cultural resources by way of tourism. In this way, a more inclusive approach can be fostered in spite of the fractured and contested nature of rural community tourism development.

The discussion now considers the findings in relation to the conceptual framework. Culture economy will be discussed followed by cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation.

7.2 Culture economy

This section discusses the findings in relation to the operation of a culture economy in Charles Town and Seaford Town.

7.2.1 Operation of a culture economy in Charles Town and Seaford Town

The cultural identity of Maroon descendants in Charles Town and German descendants in Seaford Town and their attachment to their communities are the main basis for community-led tourism development in both districts. Agriculture still plays a part in the economy and well being of people in the communities, but these are largely aligned to culture and tourism outcomes such as food for guests and refined produce like coffee, spices and sauces. In the main, however, both communities rely on their cultural heritage and sense of place. ‘Cultural markers’, as Ray (1998: 16) terms them, are attempts by rural areas to localise economic control or to ‘revalorise’ place through its cultural identity. In this sense, the culture economy approach encompasses the relationships between resources, production and consumption and the mode by which local people exploit the cultural distinctiveness of their area for economic benefit (Ray 1998). Although these ideas are founded in a European context, the impact of globalisation has extended their influence to places such as Charles Town and Seaford Town. However, their emergence in Jamaica differs somewhat.

The culture economy approach that took shape in Europe results from EU development policy, the demise of small-scale farming in some regions, the growth of regionalism and post-industrial consumer capitalism - the ‘McDonaldization’ or homogenisation of products and services (Ray 1998: 17). While constituents of these factors cannot be entirely ruled out in the case of Jamaica, the findings of this research suggest, the unfolding of the culture economy in Charles Town and Seaford Town is primarily in response to the demise of agriculture in the communities (see Chapter Two). With only small plots of land, inhabitants in both districts are restricted to what amounts to little more than subsistence farming. When trade liberalisation rules stripped Jamaica of its preferential access to European markets, farming in both communities was badly affected. Locals could not compete with large-scale producers, particularly those from

South America (see Chapter Two). The result is extremely high levels of unemployment, particularly among the youths. Many inhabitants experience poverty and some only survive on remittances from relatives abroad. Participants admit that in some cases marijuana is the only form of farming that generates an income and this is a seasonal cash crop. It means that while turning to culture could be seen as part of the rural restructuring of the post-productivist countryside, it could also be equated with strategies to overcome chronic poverty. People in both communities are exploiting their culture, because they have very little else to turn to.

Despite the divergence of how the culture economy is unfolding in rural Jamaican communities and Europe, there are some similarities. These are a consequence of the competitive pressures of consumerism creating a need and opportunities for ever-increasing diversification of product design, which is been animated by an array of social forces (Ray 1998). This has led to products been modified in ways such as local culture commoditisation, creation and promotion of local identity, development of a repertoire of cultural products and services and adoption of processes such as horizontal and vertical integration (see Chapter Three). This can be seen in both communities with inhabitants pursuing bottom-up development strategies, which are place and culturally dependent. In Charles Town, for example, there is significant reliance on ancestral linkages (vertical integration), which manifest in cultural product designs, spirituality and performances such as drumming, dancing, use of traditional African language and interpretation of the meanings culture holds for locals. Links to the ancestors thus form a critical economic and wellbeing development strategy for the Maroon descendants. There is also a strong emphasis on trust-based relationships with fellow Maroon descendants (horizontal integration) and regular interaction in place-based activities, entertainment and rituals. In Seaford Town, there is greater importance on local interactions, trust and shared experiences (horizontal integration) between German descendants and African descendants and use of the story of their ancestors' uprooting from Germany (vertical linkages) and subsequent resettlement in Jamaica. With increasing tourists' interest in their stories, inhabitants of both communities see these aspects of their cultural identities as unique selling points for their communities.

The significance of Ray's (1998) culture economy approach intertwines with these possibilities. They are reflected in his 'typology of the culture economy' or 'four operational *modes*', which are strategies that may be employed by local initiatives in pursuit of rural development (ibid 1998: 18-19). The first three encapsulates the 'development repertoire' - stock of resources or techniques at each area's disposal, while the fourth centres on a range of likely development paths (see Chapter Three). Essentially, the modes relate to commoditising local culture and marketing it in terms of branding or geographic labelling, internal and external promotion and the creation of a corporate identity. Apart from localised T-shirts in Seaford Town, these approaches are not visible in either community, although participants clearly have ideas that reflect their potentiality in the exploitation of their cultural identity and sense of place. For example, one Maroon descendant in Charles Town spoke about the production of locally bottled spring water and homemade wine bearing a 'Maroon' label. They conducted a scoping exercise by approaching a nearby spring water supplier, but did not have the connections to access resources to get the project off the ground. With such a rich culture, marketing of a range of T-shirts, prints, hats, carvings, sweets, cakes, beverages, drums, books, music discs, videos and a host of other souvenirs bearing depictions of culture of respective communities, seem obvious. However, there appears to be lack of skills and resources to exploit these opportunities. Another example was a small drinks' hut, erected during the course of this field study opposite the Charles Town Maroon Museum and Safu Yard. Within the first hour of trading, all its 'jellies' (young green coconuts) had been sold. Basic partnership arrangements with other local jelly coconut suppliers would have ensured stocks were maintained.

Seaford Town is well known for its pork delicacies, yet there is no venue in the community offering cooked dishes on a daily basis. Only in a neighbouring community on Saturday evening, roast pork (suckling pig stuffed with rice, local herbs and spices) is on sale. With people, traveling from miles around, within an hour a whole hog is sold off. Effective networking and marketing strategies could enable this operation to expand into a more frequent activity catering not only for Seaford Town, but further afield. Several respondents bemoaned the fact that a number of the German descendants used to bake

specialty breads and cakes on a regular basis, but no one did this anymore. There are no souvenir shops in the community or arts and crafts depicting German heritage on sale. Moreover, with Seaford Town located less than 25 miles from Montego Bay, there is potential for ventures such as these to tap into the region's lucrative tourism market.

When applied to the culture economy operational modes, the above observations in relation to both Charles Town and Seaford Town illustrate the possibilities the concept holds for the exploitation of rural culture resources. The products could form the basis for vibrant niche cultural markets with their marketing and promotion (internal and external) rooted in local cultural identity and place attachment. However, Pratt (2004: 124 - 125) warns that a potential weakness of the culture economy approach is its 'situated' nature, which could serve to 'box off' culture. He argues that producers should be encouraged to adopt ways that allow products to be situated in and across places and social networks and to satisfy overseas markets (ibid 2004: 124 – 125). However, adopting the culture economy mode of development could help to animate development in marginalised, vulnerable or declining areas (Ray 1998). Moreover, it could be a springboard for raising the self – confidence of local people increasing self-assurance in their own abilities to bring about development and valorising local resources, such as those that may have been neglected or suppressed by more dominant forms (ibid 1998). Essentially, the culture economy approach is about reinvigoration of local culture as the foundation for local socio-economic wellbeing.

7.3 Cultural connectedness

The Maroon descendants of Charles Town and the German descendants of Seaford Town are adamant that without them their communities would not hold the cultural distinctiveness they do. They argue that their cultural identity make their communities special and unique and that the landscape is imbued with their experience, local knowledge and folklore; in other words, a sense of place. For example, although African

descendants are the majority of the population in Seaford Town, the district is known as German town. As far as the German descendants are concerned even if they no longer exist, the district will always bear their identity. Not only do they have an intangible imprint on the district, but also, there is a visible presence particularly in the form of architecture with several original German-style houses still in use in the community (see Figure 6.28). It is a similar story in Charles Town with the Maroon descendants. Their intangibility is etched in the folklore and practices of the community and their visibility in the landscape can be seen in their ancestors' mountain hideouts and lookouts and use of flora for medicine, food and weaponry.

As Chapter Five reveals, the Maroon descendants revel in their linkages to their African ancestors and this comes across vividly in face-to-face interactions and performances, whether it is among themselves or for visitors. Use of the elements of West African languages that have been passed on to them, engagement in rituals, dress and cuisine, drumming and performing are indicative of their cultural identity. Moreover, it is this distinctiveness or uniqueness that is attractive to visitors particularly those searching for authentic experiences and interactions (see Chapter Two and Three). Although the German descendants have not maintained the same linkages to Germany like the Maroon descendants have to Africa, it is their Germany ancestry that provides the basis for the culture resources they exploit for economic development and wellbeing strategies. This became explicit during a discussion with a German descendant, who insisted on his 'Germaicaness' and how he lacked interest in rekindling linkages to Germany. However, when the economic might and sporting prowess of the European country was mentioned, you could sense his glow with pride and inner satisfaction (see Chapter Six). This suggests that on the surface, connections with Germany might not be avowed, but internally they are extolled.

It is thus argued that the basis of using ideas of cultural connectedness to augment notions of the culture economy approach is due to the importance locals attribute to linkages to time or rootedness in place such as ancestral memories and stories (see Chapter Three). While Ray's (1998) framework considers the contested nature of place identity, it

provides limited recognition of the reciprocity of historic and newer social relations, which constitutes sense of place (see Chapter Three) that provides Charles Town and Seaford Town with their uniqueness. It is argued that appreciation of these dimensions is important because they contribute to knowledge of how local history and culture emerge, constructed and reconstructed into resources for economic and social outcomes in communities such as these. In integrating notions of the culture economy approach with ideas relating to cultural connectedness, there is a clearer picture of their materialisation. Moreover, the amalgamation adds to knowledge of how rural inhabitants in Charles Town and Seaford Town make sense of their realities as they attempt to exploit their culture to develop their communities and the meanings culture holds for them (see Chapter Three).

7.3.1 Horizontal and vertical cultural connectedness

The cultural connectedness that is fundamental to the operation of the culture economy in Charles Town and Seaford Town can be seen as horizontal and vertical (see Chapter Three). An example of this is represented in the Maroon descendants' linkages to their African roots and way of life (vertical). These are embodied in language, foods, rituals, spirituality, music, values, meanings, beliefs, cultural performances, anniversary events, exchange visits and arts and crafts. The Maroon descendants draw from these linkages to develop the cultural products and services they offer for tourists' consumption. Vertical connections not only have an economic dimension, they are representative of who the Maroon descendants are, and thus part of their cultural identity. As such vertical cultural connectedness provides the Maroon descendants with a 'cultural sense of self', healthy self-esteem, identity and a sense of belonging (see Chapter Three). Despite their ancestors' forceful removal from Africa and hundreds of years of subjugation, the Maroon descendants are imbued with a sense of depth, historical belongingness, a feeling of deep-rootedness and sense of a sacred obligation to extend the genealogical line (see Chapter Three). This is particularly pronounced during drumming and dancing when through transcendence they seek to engage their ancestors to fulfil their desire for

historical belongingness and deep-rootedness. Vertical cultural connectedness is thus a linkage to a past cultural identity.

Horizontally, the Maroon descendants maintain meaningful relationships, trust and co-operation with locals, particularly with other Maroon descendants and groups. This can be seen in the various group functions that the Maroon descendants hold and attend. They appear to delight in group involvement and interaction where they share the ‘same ways of thinking and belonging’ with others, particularly those with commonalities (see Chapter Three). This is crucial in reinforcing basic psychological needs such as relatedness, autonomy, competence and human functioning (see Chapter Three). The Maroon descendants can thus be said to exhibit strong horizontal and vertical cultural connectedness (see Figure 7.30), which help to guard against cultural homelessness and ‘emotional cut-off from the past and psychological abandonment in the present’ (see Chapter Three).

The German descendants have no connections to Germany through language, rituals, music, cultural performances, anniversary events, exchange visits, arts and crafts or spirituality. Without these and the loss of their traditional language, only aspects such as architecture and liking and usage of pork products remain. Participants in Seaford Town claim the German descendants appear ‘*lost*’, ‘*cut-off*’, living in ‘*isolation*’, experiencing ‘*psychological scarring*’ and German culture being ‘*drowned out*’ (see Chapter Six). Even though vestiges of their culture remain in Seaford Town and they may hold some inner sense of German cultural identity, there are deficiencies in their vertical cultural connectedness (see Figure 7.30). This indicates the German descendants lack a ‘cultural sense of self’, healthy self-esteem and psychological and emotional wellbeing (see Chapter Three).

Contrastingly, the German descendants can be said to hold strong horizontal cultural connectedness. This stems from trust and close locally bounded relationships with African descendants. Formed when they realised they and the newly freed slaves they had been recruited to guard were in the same boat, these bonds flourish to this day. They

manifest in close interactions and shared experiences, co-operation, continuity, respect, reliability, trust and reinforces ideas of a sense of place in terms of common experiences (see Chapter Three). The strong horizontal cultural connectedness of the German descendants (see Figure 7.30), underpin basic psychological and emotional needs such as relatedness, independence, competence and human functioning (see Chapter Three).

This Cultural Connectedness Map, Figure 7.30, highlights the continuation of the trajectory of 'effective cultural linkages' (see Figure 3.10), which serve as a source of intangible and tangible cultural heritage and services that can be fashioned for tourists' consumption. It also depicts the strong horizontal and vertical cultural connectedness of the Maroon descendants and the strong horizontal and weak vertical cultural connectedness of the German descendants. The difference in the trajectories between the Maroon descendants of Charles Town and German descendants of Seaford Town reflects the strength of vertical and horizontal linkages. While the Maroon descendants exhibit both strong vertical and horizontal connectedness, the German descendants display stronger horizontal linkages than vertical.

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Through analysis of the cultural connectedness of the Maroon and German descendants, a clearer picture of the operation of a culture economy in the development of the two communities emerge. The contrasts are particularly significant in terms of the meanings culture holds for both groups in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development and the extent to which locals capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism.

Although Charles Town and Seaford Town are located at the opposite end of Jamaica and are of different racial composition, they share some commonalities. Both communities thrive on their cultural distinctiveness, are located along thoroughfares, are agriculture-dependent and experience mixed social issues such as high youth unemployment, poor housing, inadequate waste disposal, high rates of illiteracy, low levels of crime, etc. Moreover, the two localities have established museums and are seeking to exploit their intangible and tangible cultural heritage by way of tourism. While the reasons for their predecessor's settlement in Jamaica are highly subjective and, perhaps, cannot be compared, the respective hardships they endured have, to a certain extent, played a role in shaping their current circumstances. However, where the communities differ is their level of vertical cultural connectedness (see Figure 7.30). This is important, because past linkages are a source for the development of intangible and tangible cultural heritage products on which tourism thrives (Park 2014).

Another key feature of vertical cultural connectedness is the notion of refashioning past heritage for contemporary uses. This resonates with Ray's (1998) ideas of cultural places, which are engaged in self-promotion to preserve their cultural identity and to develop their socio-economic vibrancy. Cultural identity is seen as a dynamic 'progressive' and flexible approach to endogenous development (ibid 1998). The idea of progress suggests continuity and the future, a notion, which correlates with sustainable development (see Chapter Two). Moreover, the Maroon descendants argue that exploiting their culture for economic wellbeing is the best way of preserving their way of life (see Chapter Six). In

this sense, ideas of sustainable development can be seen to intertwine with notions of a culture economy through cultural connectedness. This is strongly supported by the case studies in this research, particularly, the Maroon descendants who have maintained aspects of their culture almost intact for hundreds of years and to a lesser extent the German descendants.

These dynamics are not just representative of economic outcomes, but also social wellbeing, which is an important dimension of the culture economy approach that is reinforced through cultural connectedness. For example, while the Maroon descendants are seen as outgoing, spirited and radiate positive identity, the German descendants are somewhat reserved. The Maroon descendants' folklore is etched in heroic guerrilla warfare, bravery and the supernatural. The German descendants' narrative is more about tenacity and acquiescence. Although the history and the will of both groups to survive is fascinating and hold great potential for the development of their communities, the Maroon descendants' articulation appears more vibrant. While other factors cannot be ruled out, it is argued that cultural connectedness can provide a sense of empowerment, a feeling of deep rootedness and sense of belonging, which is a dynamic phenomenon of social significance that can contribute to wellbeing and higher self-esteem (Mbiti 1970 cited in Sherlock and Bennett 1998, Hill 2006 and Saewyc et al. 2013). When the Maroon descendants perform or speak about their ancestors or relay their heroism, for example, they do so with great pride and self-assurance. This is not to say the German descendants are not proud of their ancestors and their achievements, and personality will undoubtedly play a part in their delivery of this, but their enunciation is somewhat indifferent in comparison to the vivaciousness of the Maroon descendants.

While the German descendants may not exhibit the same level of vertical connectedness, they display similar signs of horizontal connectedness as the Maroon descendants (see Figure 7.30). However, both perspectives have their strengths and limitations. Vertical linkages are more apparent in small-scale traditional societies like Charles Town and Seaford Town and are conservative and hierarchical with cultural practices circumscribed and self-organisation based on a pecking order. This can lead to competitiveness among

locals who are only interested in their own self-promotion (Meyers-Levy 2006). This correlates with the situation in Charles Town where local detractors expressed interest in joining the Maroon Council, but only as leader. The horizontally inclined sought to foster equal relationships and cooperation, such as the joint beekeeping project in Seaford Town, which has proved a success by promoting the sharing of ideas and resources. Practices of horizontal and vertical cultural connectedness are clearly aligned to the way of life of locals in both communities and how they make sense of their realities and engage in the development of their communities.

Adding ideas of cultural connectedness to the culture economy framework intertwines economic outcomes with local people's intangible and tangible traditions, products and natural environment. This is of significance, because culture is now recognised as not only a facilitator of the economy, but also of individual and collective wellbeing (Loulanski 2006). While acknowledging the contested nature of place identity, Ray's (1998) framework does not recognise the flexibility between historic and newer social relations. This is of critical importance to the development of rural community tourism in Charles Town and Seaford Town, because locals' past linkages and the historical exploits of their ancestors are integral features in their development strategies. Building on the ideas of Ray (1998) and Kneafsey, Ilbery and Jenkins (2001), cultural connectedness encompasses a sense of temporal linkages, which include ancestral memories and stories. Moreover, cultural connectedness provides consideration of the complex interconnections involving global and local operations in relation to how local history and culture come into being and are reconstructed into resources for economic and social outcomes (Kneafsey 2001). This aligns with the basic underpinning of the distinctiveness of both communities, with the Maroon descendants the product of African slaves and the German descendants, who result from indentured labourers from Germany. These factors, as participants in both communities admit, are what define them as who they are. Awareness of these perspectives is not only critical in enabling a grasp of local identity and sense of place, but also as knowledge, which can be integrated into local development strategies. Moreover, they help to rationalise the significance of place to local people and how they become emotionally attached to them and the meanings imbued in certain locations

(Holden 2013). A greater appreciation of ideas relating to cultural connectedness could, therefore, enhance local development strategies, socio-economic and emotional wellbeing. Complementing the culture economy framework in this way expands the range of tools with which to investigate the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities.

7.4 Plurality of commoditisation

There are elements of Ray's (1998) fourth operational mode or technique that could be applied to local development efforts in Charles Town and Seaford Town. However, it is not a strict adherence and strategies that appear to correspond with this approach are place and culturally situated in line with local conditions and circumstances. Integrating ideas relating to the plurality of commoditisation with Ray's notion thus allows for a much clearer grasp of the workings of differentiating strategies in the role of culture and tourism in the development of Charles Town and Seaford Town. The fourth mode is most explicit in emphasising greater localness, place and cultural specific development strategy/ies where 'the culture is different from, and represents a smaller geographical scale than, that of the nation-state'. This clearly reflects the picture in Charles Town with its small numbers of Maroon descendants and Seaford Town with its minority German descendants. Development can mean different things to each area, which can choose from one or a range of paths or its own 'development repertoire' – stock of resources or regularly used techniques - to exploit its cultural resources (Ray's 1998: 22).

While these ideas are representative of Ray's (1998: 17) 'ever-increasing diversification of product design' and diversity of degrees of corporation within each area, they are nevertheless symbolic of attempts to pluralise the process of culture commoditisation that can be seen in Charles Town and Seaford Town (see Chapter Three). The focus of both communities is on differentiating various aspects of their culture resources and services, in their own way and conveying their own meanings, to meet the varying tastes of tourists. This is in response to the increasing desires of tourists for ordinary interaction

and engagement or co-creative experiences with local people away from resorts (see Chapter Two and Three). Pluralising the commoditisation process allows communities like Charles Town and Seaford Town to offer a range of distinctive activities where visitors can engage and interact with local people. Interacting or co-creating with locals, in this way, help to intensify or deepen experiences or encounters for tourists (see Chapter Three). While guests may enjoy similar experiences elsewhere, the distinctiveness and intimacy of communities such as Charles Town and Seaford add to their co-creative encounters or experiences whether they are with local people, landscapes, foods, performances, etc.

While consumption of experiences or encounters is dependent on each guest and their psychological and physical characteristics, it nevertheless, provides them with first-hand opportunities of engagement and interaction with people in communities such as Charles Town and Seaford Town. In this regard, the plurality of commoditisation concept augments the culture economy approach by providing the chance for more intimate co-creation. The highlight of the Maroon dancing performance, for example, is when visitors join in (see Figure 5.19). Instead of only observing the performance, visitors are actively encouraged to interact with locals, as they go through various routines. This brings sheer delight to their faces, as they try to imitate the more intimate moves of the dancers. During walking tours, trekking, etc. in both communities, there is close interaction between visitors and locals, who discuss community issues and highlight local places of interests. There are regular stops at bars, shops, farm fields, homes, etc. where visitors can engage in discussions with local people. There are also occasions such as church services where visitors are introduced to the congregation and have the opportunity to interact after the service. Moreover, overnight visitors have the opportunity to stay with families and have plenty of chances to engage and interact. Often, day trip visitors are provided with lunch in local people's homes and other members of the community are invited to share in the occasion. In both communities, guests can join in past times such as dominoes, board games or observe locals take part in traditional activities at local gatherings. Some of these activities are seasonal like the annual Charles Town Quao Day celebrations or the Seaford Town Garden Party, while others are weekly routine events.

Catering for tourists in this way provides locals with the opportunity to affirm their own cultural identity, tell their own stories and offer their own interpretation of the meanings culture holds for them (see Chapter Three). These co-creative experiences and encounters illustrate the benefits of the plurality of commoditisation as a dimension that enhances the culture economy approach.

However, not everyone in Charles Town and Seaford Town approves of differentiating aspects of local culture to appeal to tourists or encouraging closer interactions and engagement with them. Some participants, particularly, in Charles Town, complain that some of their cultural practices are intended to be private, but are being exposed to tourists. Other members of the community argue that not everyone was benefiting from the money raised from exploiting local culture. In Seaford Town, there are criticisms that some of the German descendants are unhappy about being gazed at, particularly, in their poverty-stricken conditions. However, participants in support of exploiting their culture resources argue that those with reservations do not object about benefitting from the advantages that result for commoditising local culture. Participants in both communities argue their culture is rich and can withstand the forces of dilution. Moreover, they say they are proud of their culture and are happy when others show interest or want to engage in their way of life.

One of the means participants say they use to protect and preserve their culture from being watered down is differentiating the ways in which it is offered up for consumption. *‘There are things that you are not going to expose then, but the enjoyment side of that, you go ahead and share it’* (see Chapter Five). Social mechanisms such as differentiating the ‘business’ dance from the ‘pleasure’ dance, in the case of the Charles Town Maroon descendants, allow local people to retain core traditional practices (see Chapter Three). At the same time, it shows that local people are not passive in the exploitation of the culture, but are active agents in its commoditisation (see Chapter Three).

Differentiating local culture in this way resonates with Goffman’s (1959) ‘front region back region’ idea of impression management with performance being the front and

rehearsal the back. Although it is argued that there is no differentiation in Goffman's concept when applied to tourism, this is countered by declarations that the culture commoditisation process is a multiple construction with various forces and factors at play such as individual values, tastes, place and cultural situatedness (see Chapter Three). Moreover, Ray (1998) argues that areas can adopt one set of cultural resources for external consumption and another for internal use.

Ideas relating to the plurality of commoditisation complement both the culture economy framework and the cultural connectedness concept, because they help with the investigation of differentiated and diversified ways locals commoditise their culture to meet tourists' demand for actual interactions and co-creative experiences. As Hamilton and Alexander (2013) admit, co-creation captures new possibilities and the changing role of the consumer from a passive recipient to a proactive co-creator in activities. Rural community tourism development in both Charles Town and Seaford Town is being predicated on meeting tourists' desire for closer interaction with locals away from resorts (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002 and Hayle 2014). Both communities offer a range of co-creative activities such as walking tours, trekking, playing dominoes, traditional dancing, communal meals and conversations. In Seaford Town, for example, locals take turns to provide specially prepared meals for tourists. Other members of the community are usually invited to share in the engagement.

The plurality of commoditisation concept recognises the shift in portrayals of tourism from everyday life experiences or homogenising depictions of the tourist as a general type to pluralising considerations that capture the multiplicity of the experience (Uriely 2005). Moreover, pluralising tourism experiences can magnify the competitiveness of local communities, add to the appeal for customised products and increase the flexibility of meeting the changing tastes and demands of tourists (Benur and Bramwell 2015). At the same time, plurality of commoditisation responds to the practice where locals demarcate aspects of their culture (Yang, Ryan and Zhang 2015). This can be seen in Charles Town where the 'pleasure dance' is performed for visitors and the 'business dance' is held back for special community occasions.

Adding the notion of plurality of commoditisation to the culture economy framework helps to capture the multiple sets of activities and diverse forms of production that are a feature of rural community tourism development (Gibson and Kong 2005: 557). Previous attempts by seminal theorists such as Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1973) to represent the essence of tourism were not concerned with the variety of meanings and motivations and presented ‘homogenizing portrayals’ of the activity as a general type (Uriely 2005: 204). The plurality of commoditisation not only recognises that different kinds of people may desire different modes of tourist experiences, but also that locals are not powerless or passive in the exploitation of their culture resources as often imagined (Uriely 2005 and Yang, Ryan and Zhang 2015).

These various perspectives show that the development of rural communities such as Charles Town and Seaford Town is complex and multidimensional. Exploring them from a pluralistic position offers a more holistic picture of the dynamic range of constituents involved. While culture economy captures development from a local economic and wellbeing perspective, the plurality of commoditisation adds to this by encompassing consumers or tourists’ considerations. These include desires for authentic co-creative experiences and encounters with local people in their own surrounds. In this way the plurality of commoditisation, also build on concepts such as Goffman’s by proffering actual interaction and engagement with local people rather than symbolisms of rural community life.

7.5 Summary

Traditional agricultural communities such as Charles Town and Seaford Town with their distinctive cultural characteristics are emblematic of Ray’s (1998) notion of a culture economy. Both sets of inhabitants are pursuing endogenous development strategies based on their cultural identity, attachment to place, environmental features, local culture resources and way of life. The revitalisation of indigenous culture is increasingly seen as

a key strategy for local development by tourism thereby contributing to the social and economic wellbeing of local people. Although products have been fashioned out of agriculture for generations, the continued demise of the sector means there is a need for alternative income-generation strategies. With no factories or other forms of industry, the people of Charles Town and Seaford Town have only their cultural resources to exploit. Agriculture still plays a role, but primarily through its linkages with tourism.

Essentially, both Charles Town and Seaford Town are undergoing a transition from an agriculture-based economy to one that is more culturally oriented. However, the process is complex and multidimensional. Both communities experience serious socio-economic difficulties. These include high rates of unemployment, illiteracy and poor infrastructure. Overcoming these difficulties is challenging and one that requires a range of approaches encompassing economic, social, cultural and local conditions and circumstances. Use of Ray's (1998) culture economy approach helps in this regard, as it captures the attempts by locals to revalorise their communities through their cultural and place identity. However, the framework is designed for a European setting and does not fully reflect conditions such as those in rural Jamaican communities and elsewhere. Integrating ideas of the culture economy with notions of cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation help to capture a much broader range of the conditions, circumstances, activities, actions and meanings associated with the role of culture and tourism in the development of the two communities.

Cultural connectedness not only better reflects the rural community context like Charles Town and Seaford Town, it makes visible the intangible and tangible linkages to the past cultural heritage of local inhabitants, which are being refashioned for contemporary economic and social wellbeing. Moreover, it extends the culture economy approach by adding connections, which can be seen as horizontal in that they refer to locally bounded and trust-based relationships and vertical referring to time, history and hierarchical relationships. The temporality and place-based nature of these linkages suggest they hold the potential to contribute to sustainable development approaches. Plurality of commoditisation reflects the differentiated and diversified strategies locals deploy to

commoditise their culture to meet tourists' demand for actual interactions and engagement with them in their own settings.

While Ray's ideas are presented from local economic development perspectives, the plurality of commoditisation further augments the framework with considerations from tourists' standpoints thus reflecting a more holistic picture of rural community development in Charles Town and Seaford Town. As such, the discussion presents a dynamic, progressive and flexible approach of how culture and tourism can contribute to development in diversified settings like the case study communities in Jamaica. In doing so it argues that the meanings culture holds for rural Jamaicans in relation to a sense of place, identity and development is complex and multidimensional. It is, therefore, necessary for locals to draw on a repertoire of strategies to capitalise on their intangible and tangible cultural resources in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism. These can be framed by the culture economy approach and complemented by ideas such of cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation, which more accurately reflect contexts that could apply to settings such as those in Jamaica and elsewhere.

The following chapter concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

ANALYSING THE KEY FINDINGS, METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS, REFLEXIVITY, LIMITATION OF STUDY, CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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8.31 Sunset silhouette: a view from a Negril all-inclusive resort (Taylor 2011)

8.0 Introduction

This concluding chapter presents the key findings of the study in relation to the research question and objectives of the study. The discussion is organised to demonstrate how the findings link back to the review of literature. The analysis considers the challenges and obstacles of the role of culture and tourism in the development of rural communities in Jamaica and tries to identify possible solutions. Consideration is also given to the methodological approach, reflexivity, limitations of study and concluding remarks.

8.1 What is the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica?

The role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica essentially marks the transition from a primarily agricultural mode of production to one that places greater emphasis on the use of local culture resources. While this does not preclude the role of agriculture, as the findings of this study indicate, use of produce aligned to the culture economy approach presents a more viable option of meeting livelihood and wellbeing objectives rather than bulk agricultural production purely for export. This mode of development could thus pave the way for niche cultural markets where sale of locally grown spices, beverages, food and drink aimed at tourists would complement the provision of accommodation, cultural activities, exhibitions, performances, ordinary interactions and production of arts and crafts. Moreover, development strategies could incorporate the meanings culture holds for rural inhabitants in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development. It means rural cultural enclaves such as Charles Town and Seaford Town could exploit the full repertoire of their resources to develop their communities rather than rely on only certain aspects.

Recognition of the potential of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica has gained significance largely due to the demise of agriculture and the rise of the experience economy (Oxford Economics 2012, Komppula 2013, Yeoman 2012: 53, Smith and Robinson 2006, Hawkes and Kwortnik 2006 and McLaren 2003). With no factories or other industry, farming has been the main development route in rural Jamaica for generations. However, small plots of land and hilly terrain mean development is constrained with low returns for challenging work. The inconsistency of making a living from local trades and professions such as carpentry, dressmaking, teaching, etc. results in many people turning to farming to supplement meagre incomes. Sugar cane and bananas used to be the main crops, but these were dealt a major blow when international trade liberalisation rules ended the preferential access of local export produce to European Union markets. Local agricultural products could no longer compete on open international markets and Jamaica's rural economy plunged into crises. This was exacerbated by reductions in local tariff charges making it difficult for homegrown foods to match the price of imports. Perennial natural disasters such as tropical storms, hurricanes and droughts, global economic downturns and the unattractiveness of farming to young people added to the challenges facing rural agricultural-dependent communities. The cumulative effects are that 80 per cent of the 1.1 million people living below the poverty line in Jamaica are in rural areas. Many rural inhabitants only get by on remittances from relatives and friends abroad. As such, rural communities are in desperate need of socio-economic development strategies.

While agriculture founders, tourism continues to be the boom industry in Jamaica. In 2010, the sector generated 6.8 times the export revenue of all traditional agriculture earnings (Oxford Economics 2012). Moreover, tourism accounts for more than half of the island's foreign currency revenue, more than a quarter of all jobs, 29 per cent of GDP and more than US\$3 billion annually (Oxford Economics 2012 and Jamaica Gleaner 2013). The versatility of tourism means it is reflected in all sectors and activities, while agriculture is dependent on only a few specific crops (Oxford Economics 2012). At the same time, culture, which has the potential to make fundamental contributions to sustainable development, accounts for 40 per cent of global tourism revenues (UNESCO

2013). Moreover, culture is what gives each tourism destination their unique selling point (OECD 2009).

Despite the multifaceted nature of tourism, its income generation and development potential, the industry is associated with negative impacts such as acculturation, environmental degradation and low wages. Many of these influences are linked with the sun, sand and sea all-inclusive resort holiday model, which is the main brand of tourism in Jamaica. Daye, Chambers and Roberts (2008) argue that poor intersectoral linkages have restricted the brand's economic benefits to the island's wider population. Moreover, in its current format, Jamaica's all-inclusive tourism model is unsustainable, because locals play no part in its development and their cultural identity and interests are not represented (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). The sustainability of tourism in Jamaica means it must contribute to the economic and social wellbeing of locals, ensure they are involved in making decisions related to its development and provide opportunities for greater interaction between hosts and guests and exchange of ideas and information.

Some of the issues and challenges concerned with tourism as a development strategy in Jamaica have been highlighted in two major reports, the Jamaica Master Plan for Sustainable Tourism Development (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002) and the Rural Enterprise Development Initiative – Tourism Sector (JSIF 2009). Both reports advocate greater emphasis on rural community-based tourism development. Essentially, they cover similar ground. The Commonwealth Secretariat's (2002) document focuses mainly on bottom-up planning, product development, local ownership and management of products and businesses and increasing supply of local goods and services to the tourism industry, while JSIF's (2009) report promotes tourism as a basis for local economic regeneration. This study builds on these perspectives by examining the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica.

The focus on local people, whose wellbeing is the ultimate goal of environmental and development policies is critical to the processes that underpin community development (United Nations 1987). Moreover, the development potential of culture and tourism can

make a significant contribution to local attempts to revalorise rural areas through their cultural identity and place attachment. In this sense, local culture resources are diversified and refashioned from linkages to the past into contemporary products to meet changing consumer tastes. The study thus argues that holidays centred on local people, their way of life and intangible and tangible culture resources can provide a distinctive advantage to rural communities in Jamaica such as Charles Town and Seaford Town. Moreover, interactions between guests and locals in such traditional cultural settings meet the demand for more authentic contact with hosts away from resorts. By embracing the full spectrum of local resources, culture and tourism can lay the foundations to development paths creating a dialogue about local meanings, identity, sense of place and development. In this way, they ensure that the transition from privileging a traditional rural economy premised on agricultural production to one that places greater emphasis on use of local culture resources is dynamic, innovative and sustainable.

8.2 Meanings culture holds for rural Jamaican inhabitants in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development

The meanings culture holds for rural inhabitants in relation to identity, sense of place and community development can add new knowledge and understanding that can help shape the way forward for rural communities in Jamaica, this study finds. While identity intertwines with the cultural in terms of shared beliefs, traditions, norms, practices, behaviours, values, belonging and historical linkages, sense of place refers to geographical characteristics or attachment to a specific location (see Chapter Two). This study argues that it is the cultural identity of the Maroon and German descendants and their attachment to Charles Town and Seaford Town, respectively, that imbue both places with their special characteristics, peculiarities and differentness; in other words their unique selling points. As the culture economy approach premises, these specificities can be applied to a range of markers such as food, languages and dialects, crafts, folklore, landscapes, flora and fauna, etc. (Ray 1998). In fact, the basic tenet of the culture

economy is to ‘revalorise place through its cultural identity’ (Ray 1998: 16).

Cultural identity is thus a critical marker not only for staking out territory – territorial or regional identity - but also in creating a sense of belonging or connectedness among groups, people, etc. (see Chapter Three and Seven). As this study discerns, the meanings culture holds for the Maroon and German descendants are embodied in their identity and sense of place. Inhabitants of both areas draw on these facets to develop their communities by exploiting their intangible and tangible culture resources. However, these considerations are limited in the reports of JSIF (2009) and the Commonwealth Secretariat (2002). By investigating these dimensions, this study illustrates how cultural identity can be used to ‘capture’ the reorganisation of economies such as Charles Town and Seaford Town, not only geographically, but also in terms of how locals attempt to create and differentiate their own ways of life and traditions for socio-economic wellbeing (Ray 1998: 16). Moreover, knowledge of identity and sense of place can contribute to frameworks that can help to ‘manipulate the forces of consumption’ in terms of appeal to tourists’ desires for authentic interaction and experiences with locals in communities such as Charles Town and Seaford Town (ibid 1998: 17). Furthermore, investigating identity and sense of place amplify the relationships between locals and tourists, who can be seen as fluid and subjective seeking diverse experiences in the milieu of the ‘other’ to determine their own identities and attachment to place (see Chapter Two and Seven). These dimensions are important, because they recognise the shifts in tourists’ consumption and the changing nature of culture. Ostensibly, identity is the principal characteristic that sets the Maroon and German descendants apart from the rest of the inhabitants of each community. Moreover, identity intertwines with sense of place and is an equally significant attribute in the marketing of both communities in line with the culture economy approach.

However, notions of identity, sense of place and community development are complex, contested and inextricably linked. Although these dimensions can be important marketable resources, they are dependent on community dynamics, which are imbued with power structures, hierarchies and exclusionary practices (Cole 2006). Moreover,

differences within groups can affect management of resources, local politics, strategic interactions and alliances (Koster 2007 and Agrawal and Gibson 1999). The reality of communities is that they are often factious ground with locals locked in competitive relationships (Joppe 1996). It thus makes sense to be aware of how they are composed, the way they operate and the leadership structures involved, however loose they may appear (Hayle 2014). However, in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica, socio-cultural considerations such as identity and sense of place are often not fully evaluated. This is in spite of reports such as the Commonwealth Secretariat (2002), which finds that rural community tourism needed to be in line with local cultural identity for it to be sustainable.

Questions of identity, sense of place and community development holds different meanings in Charles Town and Seaford Town. In Charles Town, they ignite great passion with the Maroon descendants fiercely defending their identity, in particularly their African characteristics, and attachment to place. There are fears in sections of the community about local identity being watered down by the evolution of community tourism. In Seaford Town, the German descendants, on the surface, are somewhat ambivalent about their identity, especially in relation to Germany. However, they are proud of their Jamaican characteristics and attachment to place. Despite this, some locals believe the German descendants need to reconstruct their German identity to regain a sense of self and boost their self-esteem.

In examining these dimensions, it is argued that they are critical to rural community tourism development. They account for the emotional and socio-cultural basis on which people make sense of their realities and which shape their decisions and outlook. This research shows that notions of identity and sense of place are so embedded that often locals will defend them blindly. Moreover, they can lead to decisions being taken that are not inclusive. Within this context, this study argues that outside agencies and government bodies need to conduct more extensive consultation exercises with locals before initiating projects in their communities. Initiating detailed consultancy in target sites can help to develop a full picture of the key community actors, specific local needs, capabilities,

concerns and interests, merits of the community, political allegiances, influence, awareness and skills. The findings of this study suggest key local actors are not always those that put themselves forward, say all the right things, accept without questioning, are approachable or easy to get along with. They might be people who stay in the background and might not be identified in the first few hours of a consultant being in the community. Furthermore, such an individual should wield a great deal of influence, is respected, trusted and have strong local connections. Findings in Charles Town suggest that outside agencies have tended to sign up to the person easiest to get along with, relay the type of sound bite they want to hear and accept their plans without any real interrogation. Usually, this person only wants to secure an advantage for themselves or their immediate circle. They have no credibility in the wider community, which means initiatives will not receive the unanimous local backing they need for success.

An example of inadequate consultation and lack of awareness of the power relations that exists in communities can be highlighted by the occurrences, which unfolded in the Charles Town Herb Gallery and Garden (see Chapter Five). Although the Maroon descendants have shown they have the capabilities to successfully manage projects, the herb gallery and garden was not placed directly under their ownership or control. Yet, failure of the initiative has been used to tarnish the whole community, as being poor managers. As one Charles Town participant reveals, *‘They have hard evidence of our ability to manage to success, to drive things, they still want, somehow, to control, to stamp their identity on it. They have all these high-paid consultants, who don’t really care; they don’t have a heart; they don’t have a feel for the subject matter, but because they have some PhD in something, from some place, they come in, and what they do is, sometimes, almost ludicrous’* (see Chapter Five).

These observations do not only apply to the herb garden, but also to local welcoming signage in Charles Town, which IICA has been responsible for designing allegedly without consulting locals (see Chapter Five). The signage portrays an inaccurate depiction of the Maroons, which locals say has caused them a great deal of embarrassment (see Figure 5.14). IICA is also involved in the herb garden project.

Claims of lack of or no consultation of local people and top-down planning and development approaches by international agencies such as this are not new. Easterly (2006) has argued that these types development methods are still encumbered by colonialism, mistrust, Western-terms of assistance and incompetence. They often founder, because the basic needs of local people, their cultural identity and sense of place are ignored. For Western development assistance to work lessons of the past must be learned and locals need to play a greater role in determining their own course of action and their economic choices respected (Easterly 2006). However, handing over responsibility to local people to solve their own problems without the resources to alter the underlying causes of poverty could in fact result in international agencies having greater control in local affairs (Noxolo 2012). The rationale here is that international development agencies will employ tactics that require greater accountability, rigid targets, strict monitoring and review and regular collection of data that will need expensive digital technologies and expertise that are out of the reach of people in deprived communities such as Charles Town and Seaford Town. Extensive consultation with locals before initiating development could thus lay the foundation for more sustainable projects in local communities like Charles Town and Seaford Town. Moreover, it would put locals at the centre of development planning embracing ideas of bottom-up approaches advocated by the culture economy mode of development.

8.3 The extent to which local people capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism in Jamaica.

Culture by way of tourism can make a more meaningful contribution to the development of rural communities in Jamaica if it receives greater support and recognition, this study finds. Although cultural enclaves such as Charles Town and Seaford Town are attempting to make the transition from agricultural production to the culture economy mode of development, their efforts are being constrained by a lack of awareness of how to exploit the rich intangible and tangible culture resources that exists in both communities. This is

compounded by limited or no assistance in improving local infrastructure, technology provisions and skills deficiencies in areas such as communication, finance and marketing. The scope of limitations extends to locals' ability to create, manage and react to changing market conditions. For generations rural Jamaican communities like Charles Town and Seaford Town have been associated with one mode of development and changing mindsets is proving challenging for locals. Participants in both communities do have ideas about how they can develop their communities, but they seem to lack the knowledge and resources to make them a reality.

On the surface, rural Jamaica problems appear to result purely from the demise of agriculture, but they are more deep-seated and rooted in political ideologies, the island's colonial past and global development agendas. Within 10 years of the island's political independence from Britain in 1962, it faced severe economic challenges due to a mix of socialist policies under the Michael Manley-led People's National Party and global financial pressures (see Chapter Two). Receiving its first World Bank loan in 1977 unleashed a raft of devastating measures from which the island has never recovered (see Chapter Two). Today Jamaica's economy is still stuck in reverse with falling GDP, high unemployment, poor health and social services. In both study communities, the reality of failed economic development is plain to see. The unofficial unemployment rate in Charles Town, for example, is estimated at 85 per cent, particularly, among young men. Moving about the community, it is disturbing to see so many youths, some with recognised trades and professions, wandering around with little or nothing to do day after day (see Chapter Five). However, in the nearby Scotts Hall Maroon community, the situation is even more severe with an estimated 95 per cent of the 2,000 people out of work. In Seaford Town, women (59.7 per cent) make up the majority of the people out of work (SDC 2010a). The knock-on effects of unemployment have a bearing on other aspects of community life too. While Charles Town has no health facility, the only health centre in Seaford Town is closed with 41 per cent of locals saying they experience financial difficulties accessing health care (SDC 2010a).

Compared to Scotts Hall, Charles Town is seen as a thriving community primarily due to

the exploitation of its culture resources. A number of youths from Scotts Hall have, in fact, moved to Charles Town to work as cultural performers and entertainers. Now the Colonel in Scotts Hall wants to follow Charles Town's lead and take advantage of its cultural heritage, and even though he has approached the government, the community face challenges getting projects off the ground (see Chapter Five). It is a similar story in Seaford Town where locals accused TPDCo of not laying the foundations for tourism development around its people and culture (see Chapter Six). They claim the organisation's priority was on the island's Montego Bay tourist destination and not on Seaford Town. However, Seaford Town participants admit there was a lack of people in the community with the management skills to take its development forward. While, there are clearly opportunities to further exploit local culture resources in both communities using strategies such as place branding and cultural identity markers, the recognition and support to achieve these objectives are challenging for locals. With farming as the main economic activity for 62.7 per cent of locals in Seaford Town and 70 per cent in Charles Town, the fallout from agriculture has been, particularly, acute. However, the development challenges of both communities are complex and entrenched and cannot be blamed on one organisation or solved unilaterally, but through the resolve and embrace of all the communities' resources.

While it is clear that communities such as Charles Town and Seaford Town are rich in culture resources, the extent to which they capitalise on them are somewhat limited. The reasons are political, historical and deep-seated. However, adopting the culture economy approach, proposed in this study, could help shed light on the challenges and obstacles faced by locals in rural communities and offer a way forward. This is because the framework is holistic in that it considers the socio-economic, cultural and emotional dimensions of rural communities rather than just one aspect. In this way, it provides comprehensive coverage of the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica.

8.4 Recommendations for local inhabitants and policymakers in relation to the

mobilisation of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica and in other locations.

There are various issues in both communities, which suggest a lack of effective communication and co-operation that could undermine development strategies. It is recommended that local bodies and groups, in both locations, reach out to other members of the community, perhaps, by way of local town hall style meetings, and more open accounting of community business so their actions, practices, decisions and economic activities can be scrutinised.

There is a perception in both communities that benefits from local community development initiatives are not being spread across the whole community. It is recommended that greater emphasis be placed on building bridges to combat this. Locals should, therefore, reach out beyond their immediate circle to articulate their motivations, ideas and strategies for community development to prevent these perceptions. A greater involvement of a wider cross-section of the local population could also assist in this endeavour.

One of the main complaints by research participants was poor rural infrastructure and the negative impact this had on the development of rural communities. Lack of signage was a major issue. It is recommended that the government support rural communities by initiating measures to rectify these challenges, which are clearly impeding local development.

Rural community tourism initiatives that work best in Jamaica are based on collaboration, co-operation and partnerships between individuals and the community. It is recommended that local communities and policymakers embrace the culture economy mode of development, proposed in this study, as it would engender bottom-up development, which could empower and give voice to local people. Moreover, the perspectives of cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation could lead to

greater local diversification and innovative strategies, partnerships, networks, build trust, contribute to sustainability, social and emotional wellbeing, respect and unity.

8.5 Methodology and methods

The human focus of this research dictated a constructivist approach, which influenced relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology. This reflected the multiple socially constructed dimensions of culture, tourism, sustainability, community and rurality and the positionality of the researcher. As the main research instrument, the researcher fully immersed in the world of the participants with the intention of capturing their life stories and experiences to understand the meanings culture holds for them in relation to a sense of place, identity and community development. Further goals were to assess the extent to which local people capitalise on their intangible and tangible culture in pursuit of sustainable rural community tourism and to make recommendations for local inhabitants and policymakers. The constructivist approach proved significant in facilitating insights into the interactions, ideas and experiences of rural Jamaicans thus enabling a grasp of the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of their communities. Furthermore, the constructivist paradigm reflected the nature of the integrated conceptual framework, which encapsulated the multiple, subjective and diverse ways rural inhabitants in Jamaica make sense of their realities in attempts to develop their communities. This is achieved by devising a framework that offers multi-dimensional coverage of the possibilities, challenges and obstacles faced by locals in rural communities in Jamaica. The framework is based on Ray's (1998) culture economy mode of development and complemented by ideas relating to cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation. The framework thus captures the socio-economic, cultural and emotional dimensions in relation to local people's identity, sense of place and community development. The iterative process of the research meant consulting literature, applying theoretical perspectives to fieldwork and evaluating findings in relation to theory again.

8.6 Reflexivity

Having conducted an extensive examination of literature relating to a researcher's positionality and insider/outsider perspectives (see sub-section 4.7.5), I now reflect on the meaning of these interpretations (Waring 2002). The discussion primarily focuses on the perceived advantages and disadvantages derived from researching back home and its influence on the research process.

I was aware that being a Western academic researcher, living in the UK, a qualified and experienced journalist, brought up in rural Jamaica, a male, a British citizen of black African Caribbean origin, dark complexion, socioeconomic status, political stance, educational background and an English accent, were all aspects of my being and mental states that could influence the research process. Any of these factors could lead inhabitants in the two rural community study sites in Jamaica to believe that I was from a privileged position and, therefore, not their equal. The debate about skin complexion is ubiquitous in Jamaica (Hope 2011) and my 'blackness', a contested term (Maylor 2009), could limit my access to interviewees, who viewed my colour negatively. Moreover, I was not a member of the two very distinctive study communities and viewed as an outsider. Living abroad would automatically put me in the financially well-off bracket, and conducting research in deprived communities could encourage locals to act favourably towards me to secure some sort of benefit.

Growing up in Jamaica, I had never visited Charles Town or Seaford Town and while I had heard of the Maroon descendants, I had no knowledge of the German descendants. Through my childhood experiences of Jamaica and infrequent holiday visits, as an adult, I generally knew the culture and the socioeconomic construction of the island. Financial hardships are prevalent in rural areas. This is exacerbated by poor infrastructure, such as roads, access to water, electricity, internet, television, condition of houses, sewage, land tenure, job opportunities, poor health facility, etc. I also knew that religious and superstitious beliefs were very much part of the fabric of local communities and that

education was highly valued even among those, who, perhaps, do not reach their full potential. Generally, people were welcoming and willing to volunteer their time to accompany visitors around their community or elsewhere or to conduct other tasks if asked. While they appreciated financial contributions, they were not prerequisites for a helping hand. Sometimes people just wanted to share their views and opinions with outsiders and spending time with them was the best way of doing this. Although it is impossible to be totally prepared for research environments, my knowledge of Jamaica was definitely a bonus. It could be argued that this familiarity extended to ‘shared experiences’, ‘greater access’, ‘cultural interpretation’ and ‘deeper understanding and clarity of thought’ (Labaree 2002: 103). However, whether researching back home makes one an insider apportioned with certain privileges is ‘questionable’ (Kempny (2012: 42). Labaree (2002: 116) warns that even if it does, it is not ‘absolute’. While I cannot completely rule out my cultural identity giving me an edge in conducting research in Jamaica, I believed my professional background, as a journalist was just as significant.

My basic premise on entering the field was to adhere to the approach I would use, as a journalist, wherever I was conducting an investigation or covering a story. Many years experience of investigative reporting had taught me how to operate in new and challenging environments and how to modify my behaviour in line with the nature of the story and circumstances in which I found myself. Even though I always made preparations in terms of researching the topic beforehand, sketching specific and fall back questions, planning various angles to approach the issue, judging anticipated reactions, etc., it was a case of being ready to react to unfolding scenarios and thinking on my feet. I had to know when to be critical and when to be discerning. For example, on my very first day in Charles Town, I asked about evening activities while driving to the nearby supermarket with three locals and was told by my female front seat passenger that the guys tended to play dominoes and drank ‘Apple Vodka’ in the evenings. The drink in question was imported and had become highly fashionable due to its propagation by reggae dancehall artistes. It was also more expensive compared to the locally produced Wray and Nephew White Rum. I knew the suggestion about Apple Vodka was aimed at me, but I never responded. None of the other passengers reacted either, but I could tell

there was quiet support for the proposition, because if I had decided to buy the drink they would all benefit. Based on my experience of Jamaica, I maintained my silence and such a card was never played again. I knew both Charles Town and Seaford Town were poor communities with high unemployment and severe financial hardships. On varying occasions I would be pressed for money by some locals to buy drinks, food, pay bus or taxi fare, send a child to school, buy books, etc., but I had expected this. Even though all the cases, I believe, would be genuine I had to be discerning about when to be generous and when to show restraint.

A common drawback of researching back home or one's own group is that insiders might miss the obvious because of their familiarity with the topic (Labaree 2002, Maylor 2009, Kempny 2012, Giwa 2015 and Cui 2015). To counter my positionality, I operated in reporter mode most of the time. I observed and made notes, both mental and physical, of any and everything. I became immersed in local ways of life. I made a conscious effort to ask the obvious questions. There were things I came across that I had seen, experienced or heard before, but I always went over them with locals. I was determined not to assume why a situation was the way it was or why a person acted or behaved how they did. I asked for an explanation even if it was blindingly obvious. Some respondents did remark that I am Jamaican so should know what this was, what that meant or why a person acted the way they did, but I asked for clarification. The intention at all times was to give voice to local people even in relation to the mundane things. I was never sure how they would react or what they would say and I did not want to assume. An example of this, was why do people slam their dominoes instead of, simply, putting them down on the table? In my opinion, it was to illustrate that the player had a key card and wanted to show dominance in the game, but I was still surprised by some of the answers. For instance, some people said it was to disrupt the game if they were losing, while for others it was to signal to their partner the suite of dominoes in their possession so they could play accordingly. This approach revealed the subjective nature of local interpretations and therefore it was important to seek clarification about even mundane matters. This further added to the notion that communities were not homogenous entities, but places of diverse views and opinions.

From the outset of the research process, I relied on my professional experience rather than leaving matters to the discretion of being a cultural insider. As far as I was concerned, the research participants were not relatives or near acquaintances, they were complete strangers. Moreover, I had lived away from Jamaica for more than 35 years and the ever-changing nature of culture (Geertz 1973) meant I would, perhaps, not be as in tune with contemporary local ways of life, as I would like to think I was. Even before I entered the field, I encountered obstacles. I found that access was not straightforward or obligatory, because of my perceived cultural insider status; it had to be negotiated (see subsection 4.6.2), which was in contrast to claims of easier access when researching home (Labaree 2002, Henry 2003, Giwa 2015, Cui 2014 and Ochieng 2010). It was clear from my early telephone conversations with prospective participants that even though I might have considered myself a 'cultural member', in reality I was being viewed as a 'social stranger' (Greene 2014: 6). During discussions with a prospective participant in Jamaica about the cost of staying in their community, they asked if they could communicate with me via Skype. I assumed this had something to do with clarifying my identity. I did consider whether to reveal my Jamaican background, but decided against doing so, as I did not want it to have a bearing on the process. In the end, I chose not to study the community, as I was unable to negotiate a fee within my budget. I have questioned whether I would have been charged a more reasonable fee if I had revealed my Jamaican identity. In any case, the episode shows that locals were not passive in the research process. They knew their value and the worth of their information and wanted to receive what they believed was a fitting compensation for their efforts or contributions either through financial or other means.

During actual fieldwork, I also encountered other difficulties over access, which had to be negotiated very carefully. On one occasion, for example, an attempt was made to persuade me not to attend a local event, as the individual I was associated with was not attending in protest that they felt the celebration was not going to be very well organised and they also had personality clashes with members of the group. When I informed the person that I would be attending, the individual backed out of accompanying me to another event the following day despite previously agreeing to do so. On another

occasion, I was told I would not be invited to an event welcoming a foreign guest to the community. It was felt the event was private and my presence might be intrusive. I had to contact one of the community leaders and persuade them to allow me to attend. It was difficult to discern whether these episodes held any insider/outsider relevance or, was, simply, a case of locals exerting their own power. Whatever the case, while I was content to take any advantage that came with any perceived insiderness, I was not prepared to succumb to 'epistemological tunnel vision' by following only the ascribed course charted by respondents (Labaree 2002: 110). Challenging research participants' attempts to deny access, allowed me to avoid a common pitfall of insiderness (ibid 2002).

Reflecting on insider/outsider perspectives reveal the process to be contested and conflicting. There are divergent views that Giwa (2015: 8) believes are not compatible with those in the 'dominant discourses related to power relations and positionality in research'. At its heart is whether there are any real advantages in being an insider? Does it pave the way for easier access and what is the role of locals: are they powerless in the process? As a first generation, South Asian researcher, Henry (2003) found the women she met in Goa did not exist as 'victims' like they were portrayed to be in the Western media. They were independent and exuded many identities and experiences in terms of the patriarchal, familial, social, moral and religious aspects of their lives. This suggests a complex multidimensional existence similar to those I encountered among research participants in my rural Jamaica case study communities. People did not willingly accede to my every request; they challenged my queries and sought answers and reasons to my line of investigation and observations. Henry (2003: 238-239) argues that research participants might not possess the institutional power like researchers, but can 'resist and subvert the researcher's efforts, making some interviews difficult or even impossible'. In such scenarios, the researcher has no control, but it does not equate to them being 'powerless' (ibid 2003: 238-239). When situations such as these arose in my research, I welcomed them. I knew I was not the first researcher to undertake investigations in these communities and that in today's globalised world of the internet and television, even in deep rurality, people were cognisant of what was being written and said about them. It was only right that they had some say and even challenges to how they were going to be

represented. Moreover, it showed the research process was not one dimensional, but an interactive co-creative exercise. I believe the role of locals is critical in this regard in assisting the researcher in seeing and interpreting from their perspective - after all the research process is a subjective one. At the same time, interventions or objections by participants does not mean the researcher should not critique or report what they uncover, even though some, because of their closeness to locals, might be wary of a backlash if they get things wrong or go over the top (Labaree 2002). In my study, I prevailed that to understand the meanings culture held for locals it was important to try to see their world with their eyes and this involved a great deal of immersion even if one is perceived to be a cultural insider.

Although I felt some cultural affinity with locals in Charles Town and Seaford Town, it was clear that I was seen as an outsider and treated as such. For example, after joining in a community clean up day in Seaford Town, I was the only person out of a dozen volunteers offered a meal, paid for out of the contributions collected from passersby. I was told it was because I was a guest, but I refused saying that I wanted to be treated like everyone else. The money was used to buy everyone drinks. Moreover, these are tightly knit communities of a few hundred people and everyone literally knows everyone. Even people from neighbouring districts are seen as outsiders. It is hard not to stand out. Within this context, it is far from straightforward determining whether being a cultural insider allowed any significant advantages or eased entry into my rural case study communities or led to the development of rapport and trust (Whitehead 2004). I believed my past work in journalism was a far more important factor in negotiating access and in building relationships as it had done in the past.

I never felt my gender played any part in the way I was treated or welcomed by locals. There were no restrictions on who I interviewed. I never found myself in a male-only grouping where women were excluded for any reason. There were times, for example, when I went to a local shop only accompanied by either a woman or a man (my main guide in Charles Town was female and in Seaford Town male), but this was purely out of convenience than exclusion based on gender. In fact, women occupied most of the

hierarchical positions in both localities and I never felt I needed to play any specific role, because of my gender.

I did not observe any instance where my colour aided or inhibited the research process. At times, I volunteered to pay for drinks, buy a meal or even give small amounts of money to locals. When someone has given up their entire day or several hours to accompany me or show me around, I felt it was the least I could do. On other occasions, I was asked for money, but I never felt compelled to give. However, it was noticeable that if I offered to purchase a drink or some food for locals, they always opted for the higher priced or branded products. For example, while I would choose Jamaican Wray and Nephew White Rum or locally prepared meals and drinks using homegrown ingredients, locals tended to pick the more expensive Red Stripe or other imported beers and soft drinks like cranberry juice and Kentucky Fried Chicken. Whenever the locals bought meals or drinks for themselves, it was always affordable local brands. When they took up my offer by choosing the more expensive products, I put this down to novelty rather than them being exploitative.

While these reflections on researching back home reveal the negligibility of the advantage, I believed, insiderness conferred, what became obvious in the field was the lack of seriousness, I felt, my presence attracted on some occasions. Even though this in itself is seen as useful, in that I could manoeuvre into the crevices (Labaree 2002) of local communities without notice, therefore, gaining penetrating insights, it did not always have this effect. Locals were welcoming, but some appeared indifferent. There was quizzicality as to why their community, history, practices, environment and behaviours were of interest to someone of my background, who should already be knowledgeable of these things. When I asked obvious questions, some locals seemed nonplused - probably wondering why is this guy acting like a foreigner in his own country? A memorable moment was a German descendant illuminating me on how to converse in patois!

While it is difficult to quantify the real contribution of being an insider or cast off one's own subjectivity, what opened up doors to conversations and access to local people

during my research, was intensive immersion in local affairs and activities. Empathy toward local issues and concerns and a willingness to speak to all parties to get a full picture of cultural meanings and community perspectives, helped my cause. There were factions in both communities and one set tried to steer me away from the other. A number of participants said they were pleased with the effort I had made to get their side of the story. I believed striving for impartiality was just as significant as being a cultural insider. This is not to say that being a cultural insider might not have some bearing on researching back home. Both the Maroon descendants and German descendants are closed groups defined by their own distinctive cultural and racial traits even though nationally there are commonalities such as language, politics, food, etc. Having never been an inhabitant of either community it was difficult to determine the strength, depth and nature of their cultural connections. Of course, there were shared cultural characteristics, just like I have with people living in the UK. However, as Coffey (1999) argues, the self should not be the key focus of fieldwork, but real involvement and an awareness of the possibilities of position, place and identity. As such, I question whether the same access and reception would have been afforded to me if there had been less immersion, interaction and engagement with locals whatever my cultural positioning.

8.7 Limitation of study

Although the amount of time spent with a group or individual in ethnographic fieldwork is reflective of the problem being investigated rather than specified periods, in this study, more time in both communities would have allowed for greater immersion with locals. It would have enabled more in-depth observations and documentation of the nuances of interactions, behaviours, actions, habits and interpretations. Moreover, extending my stay in both communities would have led to interactions with more relevant locals, who I would have been able to identify if more time permitted. As this study concludes, the most accessible people in a community are not necessarily the most relevant to gain a detailed understanding of locals' way of life and some of the more subtly underlying issues faced by them and how they are overcome. At the same time, events where

behaviours, practices and social interactions can be observed, only happen at specific times and cannot be arranged purely for data collection purposes. For example, public church services take place at specific times on either Saturdays or Sundays or leisure time activities are usually in the evenings after work or on weekends. Furthermore, culture is a fluid ever-changing concept and a longitudinal study, would capture more of the unfolding evolution over an extensive period.

The restricted research time was primarily down to finance and being given a specified timeframe in which to conduct the study. An increased budget would have meant being able to spend more time in each community or to fund another visit to the locations to discuss the initial findings of the research with locals to get their feedback. This could have added new insights and reinforced the iterative process. Financial considerations also arose in the transcribing of recordings. Having to foot the bill for this was expensive. With only being able to pay for limited transcription, it meant undertaking the rest myself, which was very time consuming.

A further limitation of study is the issue of anonymity and confidentiality, which it is felt has lessened the impact of the views of some of the participants. Some of those involved in the study are significant figures in their communities and it is possible their comments would carry greater weight if they were identified. This could be applied to both sets of case studies, but particularly the participant in the Charles Town Herb Garden case, as their comments could have implications beyond the local community. Although, it is possible, that locals in the community will recognise the participant, they will not be in a position to act on the information or may well share some of the observations. However, people in positions of power in the organisations involved in the operation of the herb garden may be unwilling to treat anonymous information with any degree of credibility.

8.7.1 Future research

Future research could investigate the role of outside consultants and experts and their relationships with local people in the socio-economic development of rural communities

in developing countries like Jamaica. The findings of this study indicate that there is frustration among locals at the lack of a proper consultation process before projects are implemented in their communities. Locals argue that they have the capabilities to drive development projects, but they were not receiving the support to do so, as agencies wanted to maintain control. Such a study could help establish a framework to ensure greater community involvement in the planning process and engagement with development projects once they are up and running to ensure its sustainability. In doing so, it could explore best and poor implementation practices to see what works and what does not do so well. Moreover, it could evaluate the role of international volunteers and their contribution to local development.

While this study establishes the conceptual tools for the culture economy mode of development in rural Jamaican communities, future research could explore its operation and its effects on different sectors of the community. For example, as this study reveals women and young men are in the high unemployment bracket, how could they or are they benefitting from the culture economy? What are the limitations of the culture economy in global south developing countries such as Jamaica? How will communities with few cultural resources remake themselves following the transition from an agricultural to the culture economy? What are the impact of skills deficiencies, identified in this study, on the development of the culture economy? And internal power dynamics in communities?

The global reach of digital technologies is spreading rapidly. As it reaches rural communities such as those in Jamaica, how geared up are locals to capitalise on this medium to develop their communities? What is the likely impact on their cultural heritage transmission and preservation? Could digital technologies become a viable socio-economic development strategy in terms of marketing, place branding or promoting local identity and sense of place? What are its likely limitations for local inhabitants? The comprehensiveness of the modified conceptual framework means it could be applied to other settings. It would, therefore, be useful to test this framework in a variety of contrasting contexts.

8.8 Final remarks

With 80 per cent of the 1.1 million people in rural Jamaica living below the poverty line, ‘*country*’, as locals say, is in desperate need of socio-economic development strategies. Some communities like Charles Town and Seaford Town are rich in cultural heritage, yet, as this study finds, exploitation of their resource to improve local socio-economic condition is being constrained due to lack of knowledge and support. Moreover, capitalising on cultural assets is limited, because local development strategies are still attached to agricultural outcomes. While agriculture can still make a valuable contribution to the development of rural communities in Jamaica, doing so in its current format is challenging. It is widely acknowledged that bulk production of rural Jamaica’s two main crops, sugar and banana, cannot compete on open international markets. This means that without the preferential access Jamaican produce once received from Britain, in particular, there needed to be alternative development directions. The culture economy approach, proposed in this study, provides a framework with the potential to guide rural communities in Jamaica and elsewhere along a new development path. Essentially, the body of work encompasses ideas to make strategic use of culture resources in the push towards local socio-economic and emotional wellbeing. This could see niche markets for local agricultural produce, aimed, particularly, at tourists and day visitors complementing accommodation provisions, ordinary interactions, cultural performances and events and arts and craft production. Moreover, it could help with understanding the motivations and challenges faced by people in rural communities in relation to identity, sense of place and community development.

Of course, activities such as tourism comes with a host of social, economic and environmental challenges, which, if not carefully managed, can alter the physical and psychological character of local people and their communities. Moreover, poor rural infrastructure, local skills deficiencies and the contested nature of community and culture could add to these impacts. However, embracing local development from the perspective of the culture economy, which advocates bottom-up strategies, could empower and give voice to local people. While reports such as Commonwealth Secretariat (2002) and JSIF

(2009) have laid the foundation for economic regeneration of rural communities in Jamaica, this study adds to these perspectives by proposing a more holistic approach incorporating aspects of local people's life such as their identity and sense of place. Moreover, it contributes to knowledge of how local culture resources can be differentiated and recreated from temporal linkages into contemporary products and services to appeal to ever-changing desires of consumers. In doing so, the framework enables local socio-economic and emotional wellbeing to be met, but also ensures that local traditions and way of life are sustained for future generations.

A critical feature of the framework is its incorporation of ideas relating to cultural connectedness and plurality of commoditisation. Adding the perspectives are novel to the Caribbean context, as other research predominantly focuses only on economic related topics. While this is understandable in a region facing tough economic challenges, by ignoring people considerations such studies are limited. Moreover, with people as the focal for sustainable development, this modified framework could also be applied to other rural development context. By integrating various ideas from different literature, the framework offers comprehensive coverage of the social, economic, cultural and emotional dimensions of rural communities. This framework thus offers an innovative and dynamic blueprint for investigating the role of culture and tourism in the sustainable development of rural communities in Jamaica and elsewhere.

9.0 References

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Table 4.8 Log of Data Production events – interviews and observations, date, location, people involved and occasion.

| Appendix 1 Table Log of Data Production Events | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Date | Location | Event | Who | What |
| (All in 2011) | (Charles Town – CT Seaford Town – ST) | (Observation – Obv Interview – Int) | (Maroons – Mar German – Ger) | (Community - Com Development – Dev) |
| 29/10 | Lawn near Asufu Yard by Buff Bay Valley River | Obv | Local Mar and workers from Kingston bank | Country cookout |
| 30/10 | Jamaica Bible Church, White River | Obv | Churchgoers including Mars | Sunday service |
| 30/10 | House, Charles Town | Obv/int | Abeni and Etana | Sunday evening meal |
| 31/10 | Quao's Village and 18th Century Coffee Plantation | Obv | Kobby and two other Mars | Retracing footsteps of Mars |
| 01/11 | Asufu Yard and Museum | Obv | Mars and tourists | Hosting tourists |
| 02/11 | Scott's Hall | Obv/int | Mar elder | Discuss role of culture in com dev |
| 03/11 | Blue Mountain Coffee House | Obv | Mars and coffee house workers | Behind the scenes of popular tourist venue |
| 04/11 | Asufu Yard and Museum | Obv | Mars and tourists | Hosting tourists |
| 05/11 | Buff Bay Valley River | Participating/ obv | Young Mars | River fishing |
| 06/11 | CT Baptist Church | Obv | Churchgoers including Mars | Sunday service |
| 07/11 | Sambo Hill | Walking int | Kobby and other Mar | Retracing the footsteps of the Mars |
| 08/11/11 | Safu Yard | Int | Abeni and Foowa | Exploiting Culture |

| Appendix 1 Table Log of Data Production Events | | | | |
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| 30/10 | House, Charles Town | Obv/int | Abeni and Etana | Sunday evening meal |
| 31/10 | Quao's Village and 18th Century Coffee Plantation | Obv | Kobby and two other Mars | Retracing footsteps of Mars |
| 01/11 | Asufu Yard and Museum | Obv | Mars and tourists | Hosting tourists |
| 02/11 | Scott's Hall | Obv/int | Mar elder | Discuss role of culture in com dev |
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| 08/11/11 | Safu Yard | Int | Abeni and Foowa | Exploiting Culture |

Appendix 2: Interview Topic Guide (semi-structured and focus groups)

Interview Topic Guide (semi-structured and focus groups)

Interviews begin with introduction: My name is Ernest Taylor, a PhD student at Coventry University, England.

You might be aware that tourism attracts more than two million people to Jamaica annually and is the country's main foreign currency earner. However, the Jamaican government believes the existing tourism model - sun, sand and sea, where visitors spend most of their time in all-inclusive hotels - is too narrowly focused and wants more people to benefit from the activity. As a result, a number of rural communities are being encouraged to develop tourism enterprises by exploiting the activity's linkages with cultural resources such as art and craft products, heritage displays, performances, storytelling, interactions with local people, sampling local food and drink and generally partaking and enjoying the local environment and everyday activities.

Collecting data by speaking to local people and observing how they go about their everyday routines will form the basis of my research. In-depth qualitative studies with rural communities in Jamaica are relatively few and, therefore, this fieldwork is essential to generate a detailed account and understanding of the dynamics of rural community development in Jamaica. It is hoped research such as this will help to guide future strategies for rural community development in Jamaica.

Interviewees will be informed that the sessions will be recorded and the equipment will be pointed out to them, which they can inspect if they wish. I will inform them that I will be making notes from time to time during the session to facilitate ease of transcription. I will also thank them for agreeing to take part.

(Focus groups - Before we begin, let me suggest some things that will make our discussion more productive. Please speak up! Only one person should talk at a time. I am recording the session, because I don't want to miss any of your comments, so, for the purpose of clarity, may I ask that you speak as clearly as possible. While we will refer to each other by name during the discussion, in later reports there will not be any names attached to comments. You can be assured of confidentiality. Please, bear in mind that I am just as interested in negative comments as positive ones. My role is to just ask questions and then to listen, but, please, feel free to talk to each other.)

I then go through consent forms with each participant and only begin interview once they have signed their informed consent form.

Question guide for semi-structured interviews

- What is your understanding of community tourism?
- Could you describe your understanding of sustainable development in relation to your community?
- Could you tell me if there are any community development projects/schemes that are operating/being developed in this area?
- How would you describe their progress?
- What are the roles played by community members (young people, women, men) in the development of your community?
- What are the roles played by the government (MPs and councillors) and NGOs in developing your community?
- How would you describe local people's perception of the development of their community?
- Could you explain the contribution of local customs and traditions to the development of your community?
- What does culture mean to you and other members of the community?
- How significant is local people's attachment to the community?
- Could you describe the contribution these factors make to local development strategies?
- Could you describe any challenges, which relate to rural community tourism development and the exploitation of local cultural traditions or resources?
- Are there any examples of successful community tourism and culture uses in Jamaica that you are aware of and if so, why are they deemed positive?

Interviews close with 'thanks' and reiteration of how to contact me if there are any concerns or if they have anything to add in light of our discussion.

Appendix 3: Semi-Structured Interviews Participant Information Sheet

Semi structured interviews participant information sheet

Culture, tourism and sustainability: an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica

Information about the project/Purpose of the project

You might be aware that tourism attracts more than two million people to Jamaica annually and is the country's main foreign currency earner. However, the Jamaican government believes the existing tourism model - sun, sand and sea, where visitors spend most of their time in all-inclusive hotels - is too narrowly focused and wants more people to benefit from the activity. As a result, a number of rural communities are being encouraged to develop tourism enterprises by exploiting the activity's linkages with cultural resources such as art and craft products, heritage displays, performances, storytelling, interactions with local people, sampling local food and drink and generally partaking and enjoying the local environment and everyday activities.

Collecting data by speaking to local people and observing how they go about their everyday routines will form the basis of my research. In-depth qualitative studies with rural communities in Jamaica are relatively few and, therefore, this fieldwork is essential to generate a detailed account and understanding of the dynamics of rural community development in Jamaica. It is hoped research such as this will help to guide future strategies for rural community development in Jamaica.

Why have I been chosen?

For the purpose of this study, I need to recruit participants, such as rural community development project leaders/ representatives, local and national political representatives, strategic stakeholders, front line rural community tourism actors and senior professionals/ policy-makers in the tourism, agriculture and rural development fields, who have knowledge of or are involved with rural community development Jamaica. I will also be interested to know if you have knowledge of rural community-based tourism enterprises and how their development is influenced by local culture.

Do I have to take part?

No. Participation is entirely voluntary. If you change your mind about taking part in the study, you can withdraw your participation and/or data up to until completion of data analysis in January 2015 without giving a reason.

What do I have to do?

You are being asked to take part in a face-to-face semi-structured interview. The line of questioning will focus on knowledge or experience of rural community development, sustainable livelihoods, tourism and culture. The interview will be conducted in a neutral venue or private office where you can express yourself freely, in confidence and without disturbance. Interviews will take about 90 minutes and will be recorded by way of note

taking and, if consent is given, using a standard digital recording machine so that I can have a record of what is said.

What are the risks associated with this project?

You can refuse to answer any question you wish, and you can request a full breakdown of how the information you provided was used at the conclusion of the study.

Interviews will be arranged at your convenience between 9-5pm. You will need to make your own arrangements in terms of childcare and employment, as there is no financial compensation for taking part in this study.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Taking part in this study will give you the opportunity to put forward your opinions and suggestions about issues surrounding rural community development, tourism, rural sustainable livelihood initiatives and the role indigenous customs and norms play in community affairs. Your contribution will be used in this study as the basis to make recommendations to policy makers on the development of rural communities such as this.

Withdrawal options

You can withdraw your participation and/or data up until completion of analysis of the data in January 2015 without giving a reason. You can do this by contacting me either by email or by making a personal approach during the duration of the fieldwork and providing me with your participant identification details. If you decide to withdraw, all your data will be destroyed and will not be used in the study. There are no consequences to deciding that you no longer wish to participate in the study or withdraw your data.

Data protection & confidentiality

All the information obtained from you will be kept confidential. For transparency and peer review purposes, only the supervisory team and researcher will have access to raw data. Strategic stakeholders and policy makers will be identified only if they agree to be, as some questions will be focussed on policy issues. Anyone who does not wish to be identified will remain anonymous. When writing up research findings, anonymous strategic stakeholders will only be referred to by aliases. All consent forms will be stored in a separate, secure location from the raw data itself. All research data will be stored in locked filing cabinets in a room used as an office at researcher's home address and to which only the researcher will have access. When the data has been entered into a computer file, access will be password protected. Primary field records will be retained for five years after completion of field study while research data will be retained for six years in case there is a need to revisit the data.

While in the field, all the information obtained from you will be digitally uploaded onto my portable computer, which requires a username and password to gain access. The equipment will be stored in a section of my computer bag, which will be secured by a key that only I will have access.

What if things go wrong? Who to complain to?

If an interview has to be cancelled, I will attempt to contact you as soon as possible using the method indicated by you on the consent form. You can contact me Ernest Taylor by email: taylo127@coventry.ac.uk or directly by approaching me during duration of the study. In the event of a complaint you can contact Prof Ian Marshall, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Coventry University, Priory Street, Coventry, CV 1 5FB; email: i.marshall@coventry.ac.uk or by telephone: + 44 (0)24 7679 5294.

What will happen with the results of the study?

The results will be written up and presented as part of my PhD thesis. The results may also be presented at academic conferences and / or written up for publication in peer reviewed academic journals.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been through Coventry University Ethics Peer Review process and been approved.

Further information/Key contact details

Researcher Ernest Taylor by email: taylo127@coventry.ac.uk

In the event of a complaint you can contact Prof Ian Marshall, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Coventry University, Priory Street, Coventry, CV 1 5FB; email: i.marshall@coventry.ac.uk or by telephone: + 44 (0)24 7679 5294.

Appendix 4: Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form Template

Culture, tourism and sustainability: an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica

(Please see Participant Information Sheet for a summary of the research)

Please tick

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw and withdraw my information/data at anytime without giving a reason.

☐

3. I understand that all the information I provide will be treated in confidence unless I have agreed to be identified in the research

☐

4. I understand that I also have the right to change my mind about participating in the study after the study has concluded in January 2015

☐

5. I agree to be filmed/recorded (delete as appropriate) as part of the research project

☐

6. I agree to take part in the research project

☐

Name of participant:

Signature of participant:

Date:

Name of Researcher:

Signature of researcher:

Date:

Appendix 5: Focus Group Participant Information Sheet

Focus Group Participant Information Sheet

Culture, tourism and sustainability: an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica

I would like to invite you to participate in my research study about how rural communities in Jamaica are being developed using tourism and local culture. Your opinions and ideas will make an important contribution to my research and could help guide and inform the future direction of the development of your community. This outline is a short overview of your involvement and about the information you choose to give me. Take your time to read the following information carefully and feel free to talk about the study with other people.

Why am I doing this research?

You might be aware that tourism attracts more than two million people to Jamaica annually and is the country's main foreign currency earner. However, the Jamaican government believes the existing tourism model - sun, sand and sea, where visitors spend most of their time in all-inclusive hotels - is too narrowly focused and wants more people to benefit from the activity. As a result, a number of rural communities are being encouraged to develop tourism enterprises by exploiting the activity's linkages with cultural resources such as art and craft products, heritage displays, performances, storytelling, interactions with local people, sampling local food and drink and generally partaking and enjoying the local environment and everyday activities.

Collecting data by speaking to local people and observing how they go about their everyday routines will form the basis of my research. In-depth qualitative studies with

rural communities in Jamaica are relatively few and, therefore, this fieldwork is essential to generate a detailed account and understanding of the dynamics of rural community development in Jamaica. It is hoped research such as this will help to guide future strategies for rural community development in Jamaica.

Why have I been chosen?

For the purpose of this study I need to hear the experiences and opinions of people from this community, who have knowledge of or are involved with the development of their community. I will also be interested to know if you have knowledge of rural community-based tourism enterprises and how their development is influenced by local culture.

Do I have to take part?

No. Participation is entirely voluntary. If you change your mind about taking part in the focus group, you can withdraw your participation and/or your data up until the completion of the data analysis in January 2015.

What do I have to do?

You are being asked to take part in a focus group discussion. I will invite eight people from the local community who you might already know. The discussion will centre on knowledge or experience of rural community development and local culture. The focus group session will last about two hours and will be recorded by way of note taking and, if consent is given, using a standard digital recording machine so that I have a record of what is said.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Taking part in this study will give you the opportunity to put forward your opinions and suggestions about issues surrounding rural community development, rural sustainable livelihood initiatives and the role indigenous customs and norms play in community affairs. Your contribution will be used in this study as the basis to make recommendations to policy makers on the development of communities such as this.

What are the risks associated with this project?

You can refuse to answer any question you wish, and you can request a full breakdown of how the information you provided was used at the conclusion of the study.

The focus group will be arranged between 3-7pm. You will need to make your own arrangements in terms of childcare and employment, as there is no financial compensation for taking part in the focus group. Refreshments will be provided.

Withdrawal options

You can withdraw your participation and/or data up until completion of the data analysis in January 2015 without giving a reason. You can do this by contacting me either by email or by making a personal approach during the duration of the fieldwork and providing me with your participant identification details. If you decide to withdraw, all your data will be destroyed and will not be used in the study. There are no consequences to deciding that you no longer wish to participate in the study or withdraw your data.

Data protection & confidentiality

I will ask everyone attending the focus group session to keep what was said during the discussion confidential. You can say as little or as much as your wish. In the transcript, your name and that of all the other participants or people who were mentioned during the discussion will be changed so that no one can be identified. All the information obtained from you will be kept confidential. For transparency and peer review purposes, only the supervisory team and researcher will have access to raw data. All consent forms will be stored in a separate, secure location from the raw data itself. All research data will be stored in locked filing cabinets in a room used as an office at researcher's home address and to which only the researcher will have access. When the data has been entered into a computer file, access will be password protected. Primary field records will be retained for one year after completion of field study while research data will be retained for two years in case there is a need to revisit the data.

While in the field, all the information obtained from you will be digitally uploaded onto my portable computer, which requires a username and password to gain access. The equipment will be stored in a section of my computer bag, which will be secured by a key that only I will have access.

What if things go wrong? Who to complain to?

If the focus group is cancelled, I will attempt to contact you as soon as possible using the method indicated by you on the Focus Group Attendance Confirmation sheet. You can contact me Ernest Taylor by email: taylo127@coventry.ac.uk or directly by approaching me during duration of the study. In the event of a complaint you can contact Prof Ian Marshall, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Coventry University, Priory Street, Coventry, CV 1 5FB; email: i.marshall@coventry.ac.uk or by telephone: + 44 (0)24 7679 5294.

What will happen with the results of the study?

The results will be written up and presented as part of my PhD thesis. The results may also be presented at academic conferences and / or written up for publication in peer reviewed academic journals.

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Appendix 6: Focus Group Invitation Form

Focus group invitation

Culture, tourism and sustainability: an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica

My name is Ernest Taylor, a PhD student at Coventry University in England, and I am conducting a study about how rural communities in Jamaica are being developed using tourism and local culture. Your opinions and ideas will make an important contribution to the research and could help guide, and inform the future direction of the development of your community. I am inviting a small group of people from the community to join me in a discussion about this topic and would welcome your attendance. The discussion will last two hours and will consist of about eight people from the local community who you might already know. Refreshments will be available.

The discussion will take place on at
..... and will be held at
..... Will you be able to join me?

I will be leading the discussion, and if you have further questions, feel free to call me on.....

Appendix 7: Focus Group Attendance Confirmation Form

Focus group attendance confirmation

Culture, tourism and sustainability: an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica

Thank you for accepting my invitation to attend the focus group discussion at at on The talk is about how rural

communities in Jamaica are being developed using tourism and local culture. Your opinions and ideas will make an important contribution to my research and could help guide and inform the future direction of the development of your community.

Participant's Name..... Preferred method of contact.....

Ernest Taylor
Moderator

Appendix 8: Risk Assessment Form

STUDENT RESEARCH PROJECT RISK ASSESSMENT

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Person(s) undertaking project: | Ernest Taylor |
| Project supervisor: | Dr Marcella Daye |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Brief outline of project:</p> <p><i>Outline the types of activities that will take place or items fabricated i.e. face to face interviews, public surveys, water sampling, machining vehicle parts, brazing etc.</i></p> | <p>In response to criticism that Jamaica's existing tourism model - sun sand and sea, where visitors spend most of their time in all-inclusive hotels - is too narrowly focused, 38 rural community tourism enterprises have been established across the island in an attempt to spread the benefits of the activity to local people. Using semi-structured and focus group interviews, this study assesses how rural inhabitants are using their cultural resource to develop sustainable livelihoods.</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Dates of study (from – to) | 24 October 2011 to 17 December 2011 |
| Location(s) of activity: <i>Country and specific area.</i> | Fieldwork will be conducted in Charles Town, Portland and Seaforth Town, Westmoreland |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <p>Will the project involve laboratory work?</p> <p><i>If yes, you will be required to complete separate risk assessment(s) prior to carrying out any laboratory work.</i></p> | No |
| <p>Will the project involve workshop work?</p> <p><i>If yes, you will be required to complete an induction and may carry out a separate risk assessment(s) prior to carrying out any workshop work.</i></p> | No |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Will the project involve travel? <i>(If yes, complete this section as fully as possible. The form may require review prior to travel to add missing details)</i></p> | Yes |
| Contact details at destination(s): | <p>Will be available when exact accommodation has been confirmed</p> <p>Sasha Taylor (wife) 23 Arlington Road, Birmingham, B14 4QE</p> |

| | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Contact details of next of kin in case of emergency: | Telephone: 0121 430 2258/M:07984 444 796 | |
| Approximate dates of travel: <i>Your supervisor must have details of travel plans once confirmed.</i> | 24 October 2011 outbound 17 December 2011 return | |
| Arrangements to maintain contact with the University: | Regular contact with Director of Studies Dr Marcella Daye o Tel:(44)247688 7688/07974984381 | |
| Emergency contact information: | School/Faculty contact (Daytime): 024 7688 7688/M 07974984381 24hr University contact (Protection Service): 02476 888 555 Local healthcare/emergency services: Police 119 Ambulance 110 | |
| Has suitable travel insurance has been obtained? (<i>Please attach a copy of certificate</i>) | | Y N C |
| If EU travel, has EH1C card been obtained? | | Y N C |
| Has advice/vaccinations from GP been sought (<i>where appropriate</i>)? | | Y N C |
| Are medical kits required (<i>i.e. in countries with poor healthcare facilities</i>)? | | Y N C |
| Are there any warnings issued by the FCO* against travel to the area? | | Y N C |
| Have you registered with the FCO* service LOCATE? (<i>British nationals only</i>) | | Y N C |

*FCO = <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/>

PLEASE USE THE HAZARD CHECKLIST AS A GUIDE WHEN COMPLETING THIS SECTION.

| Hazard | Precautions to be used |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Work factors: <i>E.g.: dealing with the public, interviewing on sensitive issues, lone working, driving, working on boats, laboratory work; biological, chemical hazards etc</i></p> | <p>This researcher will be working alone in rural areas of Jamaica conducting face-to-face semi-structured interviews within specific communities. However, this will be done in conjunction with established links with local contacts that will help to facilitate interviews and meetings with participants. The risk to researcher is minimal as this researcher is Jamaican and is familiar with the culture, customs and norms of host population. This researcher will only use authorised private hire vehicles and does not intend to drive. The research project will not involve work on sensitive issues, work on boats, in a laboratory, biological, or with chemicals.</p> |

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Site specific factors (in the field): <i>E.g.: remote area, construction site, local endemic diseases, political unrest, terrorism risk etc</i> <i>If travel abroad see FCO* website – list any risks greater than there would be for the UK</i></p> | <p>Research will be conducted in two rural communities.</p> <p>Tropical storms and/or road works can render some roads temporarily impassable. Heavy rains in late September/early October 201 severely damaged many roads across the island. Extra care advised.</p> <p>Dengue fever is common across the Caribbean and can occur throughout the year. Dengue is a mosquito-borne infection that can cause a feverish illness associated with headache, muscle aches and pains, and rash. Some cases of dengue are severe. Dengue can be prevented by avoiding being bitten by the disease-carrying mosquitoes that feed predominately during daylight hours. In recent years dengue-related deaths in Jamaica have been minimal and the country has a well-developed health infrastructure of clinics and hospitals throughout the island and so healthcare will be available if required.</p> <p>Jamaica (particularly the capital city, Kingston) suffers from a high crime rate – including violent crime. Gang violence and shootings are usually concentrated in inner city neighbourhoods, including West Kingston, Grant's Pen, August Town, Harbour View, Spanish Town and certain parts of Montego Bay. Public order incidents and demonstrations, sometimes violent, can occur in Kingston, Spanish Town and Montego Bay. The areas selected for this research are not located in any of the above named areas thereby minimising the level of risk for this researcher while doing field work on the island</p> |
| <p>Environmental factors (in the field): <i>E.g.: extremes of temperature, altitude, weather conditions, tidal conditions, cliffs, bogs, caves, mountains etc</i></p> | <p>The hurricane season in the Caribbean normally runs from June to November.</p> <p>Jamaica is located in the Caribbean Sea, south of Cuba. Its terrain is mostly mountainous, with a narrow, discontinuous coastal plain. Its climate is tropical all year and more temperate inland.</p> <p>This researcher is familiar with the Jamaican terrain and the project does not require the researcher to conduct investigation in any adverse weather conditions.</p> |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Equipment: <i>E.g.: operation of machinery, use of specialist equipment, manual handling/transportation, compressed gases, etc</i> | N/A |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Other: <i>Detail any special arrangements required, i.e. permissions required, accommodation, travel, catering etc</i> | N/A |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>This assessment must be reviewed before any significant project changes are made.</i> | |
| <u>Assessment carried out by: Ernest Taylor</u> Signature: Ernest Taylor Position: Student Date: 16 September 2111 | <u>Authorisation to proceed:</u> Signature: Position: Date: |

Appendix 9: Ethical Approval Document

REGISTRY RESEARCH UNIT

ETHICS REVIEW FEEDBACK FORM

(Review feedback should be completed within 10 working days)

Name of applicant: ERNEST TAYLOR..... **Faculty/School/Department:** BES (GED).....

Research project title: Culture, tourism and sustainability: an ethnographic study of rural community development in Jamaica

Comments by the reviewer

1. Evaluation of the ethics of the proposal:

MAIN BODY OF PROPOSAL ALREADY APPROVED ON 21.12.10 BY KEVIN BROUGHTON

2. Evaluation of the participant information sheet and consent form:

Participant Information Sheet has no major ethical issues. Suggestions:

- Under the “What do I have to do” section, insert in the fourth sentence after the second ‘and’: “(consent is given)” – this is to highlight that interviewees have the right *not* to be recorded if they wish.
- The project title some of the terminology (e.g. ‘engendering’ and ‘informants’) could be made into simpler language – however, as the student is the most aware of who the audience is, this can be left to the discretion of the student.

Consent Form has no major ethical issues. Suggestions:

- Insert the title of the research project at the top of the Consent Form along with “Please see Participant Information Sheet for a summary of the research”
- Q4 – insert the ‘expected’ concluding date of the research

Interview Topic Guide has no major ethical issues. Suggestions

- There are quite a few questions to get through, though it is understood that this is a catch-all interview topic guide.

NB: Generally, I would suggest that the materials be provided to the interviewees at the earliest opportunity and some time before the interview itself, as it can take time for the interviewee to read through and absorb this information.

3. Recommendation:

(Please indicate as appropriate and advise on any conditions. If there are any conditions, the applicant will be required to resubmit his/her application and this will be sent to the same reviewer).

☐

Approved - no conditions attached

☒

Approved with minor conditions (no need to resubmit)

☐

Conditional upon the following – please use additional sheets if necessary (please re-submit application)

☐

Rejected for the following reason(s) – please use other side if necessary

☐

Further advice/notes - please use other side if necessary

Name of reviewer: KEVIN BROUGHTON.....

Signature: KEVIN BROUGHTON

Date: 23.5.11

Appendix 10 – Publications and Conferences

This item has been removed due to 3rd Party Copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Forthcoming (to be submitted June 2015)

Taylor, E., and Kneafsey, M. (2015) 'The pluralising effect of food tourism in the development of Jamaica's rural culture economy' (Chapter 18). ed by Hall, C. M., and Gössling, S. (2015) *Food Tourism and Regional Development: An Introduction*. Routledge.

Conferences

- Royal Geographical Society's annual conference, London, September 2011 – '*To what extent is culture a key component of the development of community tourism and sustainable livelihoods in rural Jamaica?*'
- X11 World Congress on Rural Sociology, Lisbon, Portugal, July 2012 - *An ethnographic enterprise: examining the role of culture in the sustainable development of rural community tourism in Jamaica.*
- Royal Geographical Society and Countryside and Community Research Institute's Winter School, Cheltenham, Gloucester, 2012 - *Examining the role of culture in the sustainable development of rural community tourism in Jamaica.*
- Overall Rural Tourism Experience International Conference on Rural Tourism in Aveiro, Portugal, 2013 - *Examining the role of culture in galvanising the sustainable development of rural community tourism in Jamaica.*